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The Blandification of Reagan
See page 62

NATIONAL REVIEW

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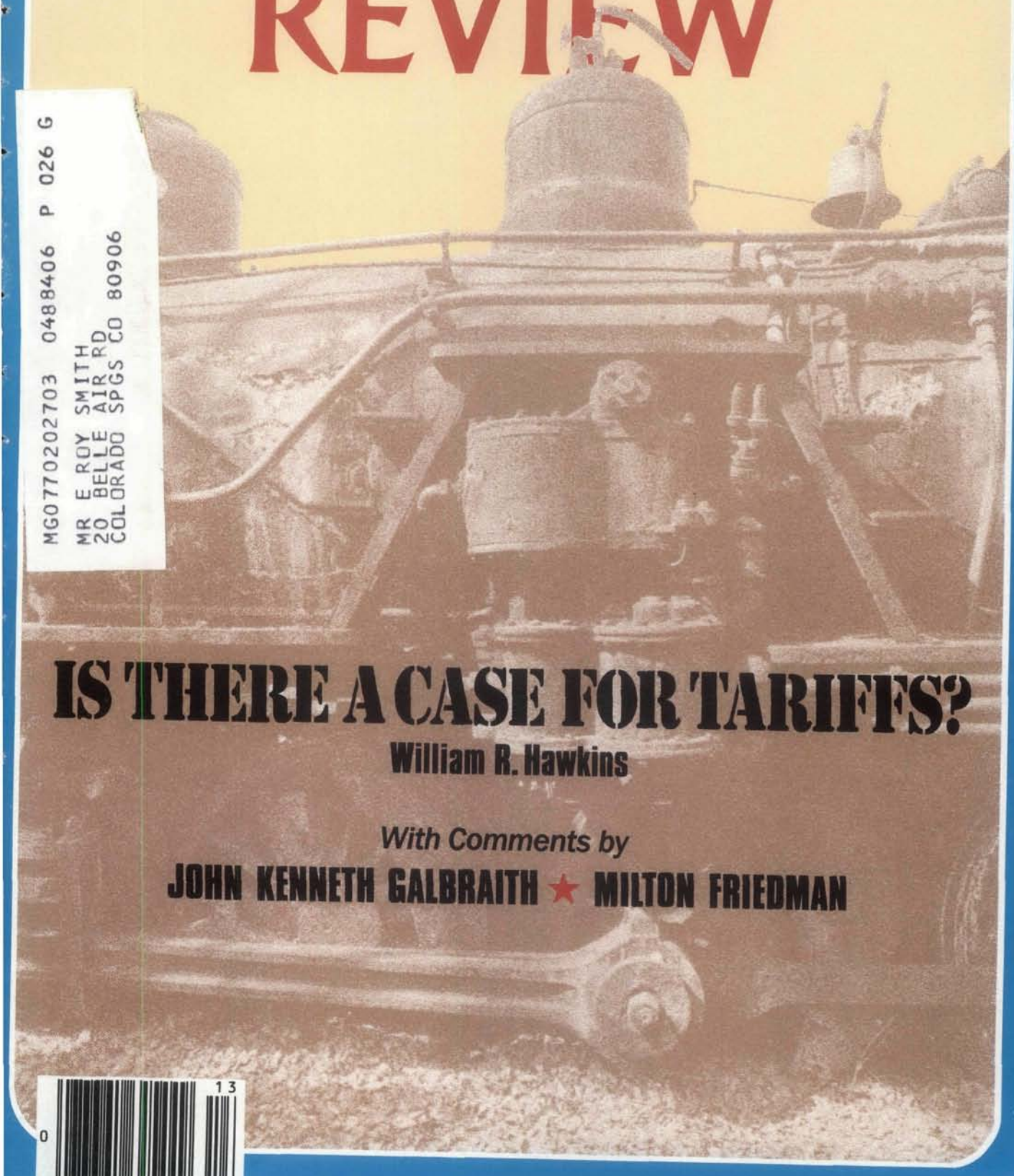

IS THERE A CASE FOR TARIFFS?

William R. Hawkins

With Comments by

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH ★ MILTON FRIEDMAN

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If they mean to give America policy guidance in the real world, conservatives are going to have to abandon their doctrinaire equation of state economic intervention with socialism. The concrete concerns of the statesman—summed up as national interest—are not always identical with the abstract *summum bonum* of the economist, which is a theoretically optimal allocation of global resources. The mercantilist tradition, of which Alexander Hamilton stands as a glorious and indubitably conservative scion, shows that intervention need neither be left to the Left nor result in confusion and the destruction of private property. In any case, reindustrialization is coming, and if conservatives don't get into the game, the liberals will be happy to decide the terms.
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Walter M. Bortz II, M.D.:

ON DISEASE . . . AGING . . . AND DISUSE

Much of illness . . . and even many biologic changes thought due to aging . . . may really be due to simple disuse

PUBLISHER'S NOTE: *Dr. Walter M. Bortz II of Stanford University School of Medicine and the Palo Alto Medical Clinic, in many medical journal reports, is urging physicians to recognize the striking evidence: That human frailty has a third dimension which is neither disease nor time. And that overcoming the disuse dimension by natural means can sustain health and slow aging-related changes as no drug can. We have asked him to brief you on this vital subject.*

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LETTERS

Feminist Fun

"The Feminist Mistake," by Mona Charen [March 23], was a refreshing change for *NR*, and lots of fun. I bet, though, that it'll make a lot of people mad—and not just women. All too many men are as pleased as can be with the status quo. They get away with paying lip service to women's rights, without ever giving more than token respect to individual women. But both men and women need to do some serious self-examination. Miss Charen really hit the mark when she said, "Because of the Lysenkoist adherence to the feminist mistake, women are making both themselves and men . . . miserable." Some of us waste a lot of time trying to pick up the pieces of our friends' lives and lending already-soaking shoulders to women who simply can't see what's best for them.

And if anyone needed proof of the shallow selfishness that undergirds the "women's movement," the magazine covers reproduced on your cover illustrate it perfectly.

Caroline Ann Jones
Flushing, N.Y.

African Alliances

Brian Crozier ["Threatened African Satellites," March 9] is too optimistic about southern Africa. A return of stolen property plus a ban on ANC activity in Mozambique is hardly "suitably tough" terms for South Africa to extract if it is required, in return, to abandon Mozambique's freedom fighters. Once South Africa has been shown to be a perfidious ally and the Mozambique resistance is crushed, it would be a simple matter for Maputo's Marxists to do another flip-flop and let the ANC back in. However, it would then be anything but simple to encourage thousands of Mozambicans to risk their lives to re-establish the betrayed anti-Communist resistance.

Since Crozier wrote, South Africa has begun a similar deal with Angola.

Any accommodations that do not include Angolan and Mozambican freedom fighters threaten, in the long term, South Africa and the West far more than they threaten Moscow.

South Africa has been driven to this dangerous course by the realization that the African policy conducted in Reagan's name differs more in style than in substance from Carter's. Until there is a fundamental shake-up—until the State Department is staffed with supporters of both political and economic freedom—the outlook remains bleak for a successful foreign policy in areas that President Reagan cannot personally supervise.

Robert Thiele
Knoxville, Tenn.

Black Experience

Richard Brookhiser's article "Jesse Running" [Feb. 24] had this to say: "Some day, post-Jackson, blacks will take the final step—disengaging from blackness—whereupon they will be able to offer their fellow citizens a serious choice."

How serious is the alternative offered a black person that has as its precondition a disengagement from blackness? Is this choice or unconditional surrender? Disengagement from blackness sounds alarmingly similar to hair-straightening as a serious social policy. Unfortunately, in our society, blackness is not merely a matter of pigmentation; it is not a negligible secondary quality. I would paraphrase Mr. Brookhiser and say: Some day, post-Jackson, blacks will take the final step—engaging fully in blackness, consciously affirming the dignity of their distinct cultural experience—whereupon they will be able to offer their fellow citizens, and a nation, a serious choice.

Christopher Callagy
Central Islip, N.Y.

Poetic Injustice

It was interesting to read in the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW ["The Week," March 9] that the popular Vietnam War-era bumper sticker reading "What if they gave a war and nobody came?" was distorting the meaning of the author of that line (a lifelong Communist), who was trying to say that those who shrink from fighting are in fact fighting the enemy's battle for him. Interesting, but not all that surprising. Distortions of this kind have long been with us, from many sides, but in recent years they seem more frequent on the pacifist side. A conspicuous example during the Vietnam years was the interview given by Alaska's "elder statesman," Senator Gruening, who quoted some lines from John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields" to buttress his pacifist ideas. The second stanza of the poem certainly seems made to order for him:

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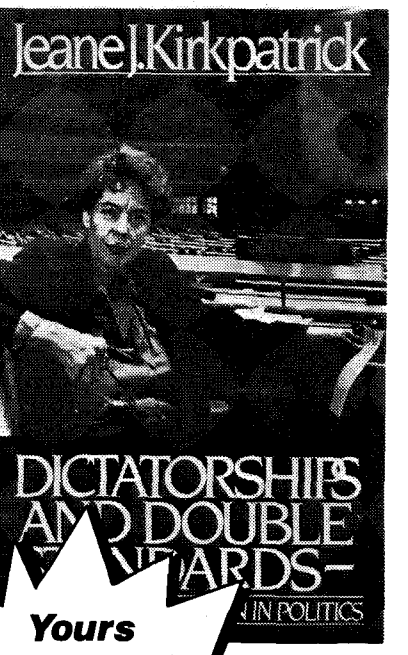

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- "The failure of the Carter administration's foreign policy is now clear to everyone except its architects, and even they must entertain private doubts from time to time about a policy whose crowning achievement was to lay the groundwork for a transfer of the Panama Canal."
- "Assisting 'change' did not lead the Carter administration to undertake the destabilization of a *Communist* country. The principles of self-determination and nonintervention are thus both selectively applied. We accepted the status quo in Communist nations (in the name of 'diversity' and national autonomy), but not in nations ruled by 'right wing' dictators or white oligarchies."

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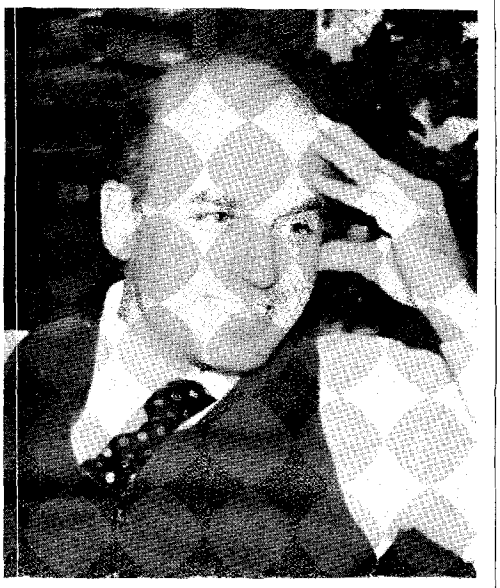

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We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Unfortunately for Senator Gruening's thesis, the third stanza gives the punch line for the whole poem:

Take up our quarrel with the foe,
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch—be yours to hold it high.
If you break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep, though poppies
grow
In Flanders fields.

This is perhaps the poem about whose misuse we can be most certain that the poet is turning over in his grave, since he actually says so. But then again, it may not have been so unfortunate for the senator, since nobody in the media bothered to look up the full quotation and give him the lie.

Wendell Bradley
San Francisco, Calif.

Misquoted

In the editorial "Two Men for This Season" [March 9], I am quoted as having written, "Led now by Cardinal Bernardin, the American Church has all but turned its back on Rome. Dissent has become its orthodoxy, rebellion its rule. A good bishop is hard to find. But the Pope is going to have to start finding some, and soon." In fact that passage is not a quote from my November 25 article on the state of American Catholicism, but is the editors' summary that appeared on the contents page of that issue.

James Hitchcock
St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. Hitchcock is correct. The use of quotation marks in the editorial was misleading. —PLB

Business and Bureaucracy

Arch Puddington misses the point in his article on the attitude of big business toward the Reagan Administration and conservative policies in general ["Business, Labor, and the Anti-Communist Struggle," Jan. 27]. Big business, which may be defined as the Fortune 500, is represented by hired managers who have essentially mastered the bureaucracy in their own organization and have therefore risen to the top. For this reason they are likely to have more dispositional sympathy with the bureaucrats in Washington than with philosophically conservative economists or cost-cutting elected officials.

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As George Gilder has noted, the Fortune 500 by and large represents "mature" businesses that are in a period of stasis or decline. Peter F. Drucker, the management guru, says that "the Fortune 500, as a group, have not created any new jobs in the last ten years, rather it is the new host of entrepreneurial companies which are providing the 4.5 million new jobs created in the last decade and are responsible for the economic growth we have experienced during 1983."

It has long been my contention that Mr. Reagan and his conservative administrators have ignored the segment of the economy that is his greatest potential ally while concentrating on traditional big business, which, as Mr. Puddington so correctly notes, rejects his philosophy.

Donald Hoke Jr.
Las Vegas, Nev.

Central America Commission

The call of the Kissinger Commission for an increased U.S. commitment to population control in Central America ["Here We Come? Here We Go?" by John Hutchinson, Feb. 24] is questionable on economic grounds and, worse yet, will make it harder to achieve our legitimate security aims in the area.

In fact, it is the developing countries with more rapid population growth that have achieved the higher rates of real output growth per capita on the average in recent decades. In the years since 1960 the Central American economies have achieved significant growth, despite the inefficiencies caused by government planning and political instability.

Worse yet, there is bitter resistance to the sterilization drive funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) in El Salvador and to the U.S.-funded population-control programs in other parts of the region. The effect of such programs is not to improve the economic or political situation in the affected countries but to create antagonism toward the United States, making it needlessly difficult to achieve our legitimate objectives of peace and stability. Recognizing this, in 1982 the Reagan Administration proposed ending population "assistance." It quickly caved in, however, to a storm of protest from the AID-funded population-control lobby.

The time is late. Vital security interests of the United States are at stake in Central America. This is not the time, if there ever was or will be a time, to pursue population control at the expense of our alliances and our security.

Jacqueline R. Kasun
Professor of Economics
Humboldt State University
Arcata, Calif.

For shame: On your magazine cover of February 24 dealing with the Central America story, right under the NATIONAL REVIEW logo, your map indicates "British Honduras." Now how are our elite Left going to react to your using a map that is more than two years old in making a current analysis of this important area? They will surely contend that the Kissinger Commission report must be already obsolete. Belize is not much, but it is there!

Robert J. Finn
DeBary, Fla.

Corrections

I would like to correct a confusion, and an omission, in two recent stories of mine. In "Jesse Running" [Feb. 24], I reported that Jackson's supporter Louis Farrakhan was head of "the Nation of Islam, a/k/a the Black Muslims," a group that, having "moved closer to the Islamic mainstream," has "become less racist." The Nation of Islam is in fact one of two groups to sprout from the old Black Muslims, and it holds the same stern opinion of white folk as ever.

I neglected to mention [in "The Others," March 9] that Alan Cranston, after his Office of War Information stint, served two years in the Army, writing educational pamphlets and lectures. —RB

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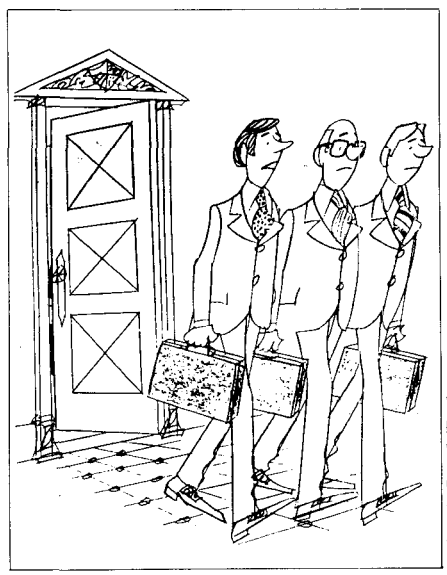
FOR THE RECORD

Two weeks ago they were eight; by March 14 they were only four, or was it three and a half? Super Tuesday knocked out **George McGovern**, who this time round couldn't score better than third in Massachusetts. . . . And once the votes were tallied, **John Glenn**'s handlers, campaign manager **Jerry Vento** and campaign consultant **Robert Keefe**, urged Glenn to get out. Among other things, Glenn's cupboard is bare. . . . After Super Tuesday, **Walter Mondale** was still leading **Gary Hart** in delegates, approximately 333 to 212, but nearly two thousand are needed to win. . . . What's with the Hart phenomenon? Political analyst **Everett C. Ladd** calls it "dealignment" and finds it the dominant trend in American politics today. . . . *Washington Post* editorial-page editor **Meg Greenfield** calls it the "Someone Else" Syndrome, and names as past Someone Else candidates **Stevenson** and **Ike**, **JFK**, **Goldwater**, McGovern, and **Carter**. . . . Fascinating insight on candidacy of candidate of New Ideas: *L.A. Times* interview of voters at time of Iowa caucus found issue of major importance to Mondale supporters was the economy; of major importance to McGovern and **Cranston** supporters, nuclear war; of major importance to Hart supporters: nothing, no issue.

Down with the establishment. In Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, blacks pretty much ignored their establishment leaders—**Benjamin Hooks**, **Thomas Bradley**, **Andy Young**, **Coretta King**, Rep. **Charles Rangel**—by giving **Jesse Jackson** between 50 and 61 per cent of their vote. . . . Jackson got more than 20 per cent of the vote in Georgia, enough to keep the federal bucks rolling in, which is bad news for Walter Mondale. Exit polls in South indicate Mondale is second choice of most blacks who are not Yuppies (young urban professionals), so as long as Jesse stays in the race—and he's in to the finish line—votes Mondale might be getting against Hart will be diverted. . . . Down the line, too, Jesse could spell big trouble for Democrats with his demands for a woman as Vice President, tougher enforcement of civil-rights laws, and an end to run-off elections (in which blacks usually do badly). If the convention refuses him these goodies, he could take a walk.

Establishment whites and organized labor also took it on the chin in Mass., where Gov. **Dukakis**, Speaker **O'Neill**, and AFL-CIO President **Lane Kirkland** campaigned aggressively for Mondale. Hart not only beat Mondale 39 to 26 per cent, he got 42 per cent of the vote from labor households, as against 26 for Mondale. A repeat of N.H., Vt., and Me., where labor contributed to Hart's big wins. . . . According to *U.S. News* the boys are already discussing possible running-mates for Hart, and the names are Sen. **Bill Bradley** (N.J.), Gov. **Mario Cuomo** (N.Y.), and former Gov. **Dale Bumpers** (Ark.). . . . How about a woman?



Mahood, *Punch*/Rothco

"They just don't seem to understand that we're *the good guys and* they're *the bad guys."*

It would be difficult, says former White House communications chief **David Gergen**, pointing to lack of prominent, experienced Democratic women. It's not as if they could choose a woman Supreme Court Justice (**Sandra Day O'Connor** is a Republican) or senator (**Paula Hawkins** and **Nancy Kassebaum**, ditto), Gergen points out.

Other hustings: In Calif. conservative former Rep. **Robert K. Dornan**, who was redistricted out of his seat two years ago, says he will run again *v.* Rep. **Jerry M. Patterson**. . . . Bad news in Mass. for **Ray Shamie**. A **Morris, Reilly, Kerasiotes** poll shows **Elliot Richardson** leading him 36 to 21 for Republican senatorial nomination. But good news for party. Same poll shows Richardson beating the two leading Democratic candidates, Rep. **Edward Markey** and Lt. Gov. **John Kerry**, by better than ten points. . . . Better news in Iowa for Sen. **Roger Jepsen**, who had trailed Democratic contender, Rep. **Tom Harkin**, 39 to 50 per cent in *Des Moines Register* poll last fall. They're now running neck and neck.

Last chance: Two-thousand-dollar **William B. Ruggles** scholarship for undergraduate and graduate journalism students available from National Right to Work Committee. Contact Wm. B. Ruggles Scholarship Selection Committee, NRWC, 8001 Braddock Road, Suite 500, Springfield, Va. 22160. . . . First national issue of *Washington Times*, the conservative Washington paper financed by the Rev. **Sun Myung Moon**'s Unification Church, will roll off the presses April 16, for distribution in northern California. Other regional editions will follow. *Times*'s editor, **James Whelan**, hopes to present a "strong conservative alternative to the dominant liberal media" nationwide. Other national papers are *Wall Street Journal* and **Gannett**'s *U.S.A. Today*.

If anyone's interested, the favorite books of the candidate of new ideas are: **Steinbeck**'s *The Grapes of Wrath* and **Dostoyevsky**'s *The Brothers Karamazov*. . . . Hart's own *A New Democracy*, published last fall and returned in droves to the publisher, has just hit the top of the re-order list.

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THE WEEK

Tip O'Neill says Ronald Reagan shouldn't advocate prayer in the public schools unless he starts going to church more often. Fair enough. And we say the Speaker shouldn't talk about hunger until he gets down to 160 pounds.

Some economic commentators would have it that the spectacular boom we are now enjoying (700,000 new jobs in February alone) is due to the stimulative effects of the federal deficit. But the truth is that the deficit peaked nearly a year ago and has been coming down steadily ever since. On a month-by-month annualized basis, the deficit rose to around $235 billion last May and has been trending sharply downward since then, falling to an annual pace of $142 billion in January. Tax revenues are pouring into the government's coffers faster than anticipated, according to a report in *Business Week*, with corporate tax receipts running 55 per cent higher than last year. More remarkable, federal spending is not rising as fast as expected. Most of this progress in closing the deficit is due to economic growth—growth that could come to a halt if Congress passes a big tax hike as a "deficit-reduction" measure.

In 1978, Theodore Strelski, 47, a PhD candidate in math at Stanford for, yes, 19 years, beat one of his professors to death with a hammer. He says he was "making a statement." He would be back at large now had he not fouled up his parole procedure, and he will be among us in any event in a year or so. Richard Herrin beat his Yale girlfriend to death with a hammer while she slept in her own home, and he will be out soon. On the bright side, J. D. Autry, who shot a grocery-store cashier between the eyes a few years back when she asked him to pay for a six-pack, has been put to death by the state of Texas. Thurgood Marshall must have been dozing.

Having successfully persuaded the government to bail out his car company, Chrysler head Lee Iacocca is preparing for another coup. The excuse this time is the soaring cost of health care. Last year Chrysler paid a whopping $6,000 in health-insurance premiums for each employee, double what the company paid in 1979 and, according to one study, more than four times the national average. Though the company has adopted some cost-cutting measures to reduce the medical bills, they amount to only a couple of million dollars against an annual hemorrhage of close to $400 million for insurance premiums. But Iacocca has a solution, one that has the vigorous support of two members of the Chrysler board: Joseph Califano and Douglas Fraser. The former, in his role as President Johnson's chief advisor on domestic policy, helped draft the generous Medicare and Medicaid laws that are in large part responsible for soaring medical costs; the latter, in his role as head of the United Auto Workers, won the labor contracts that had the auto companies picking up most if not all of their employees' medical bills. Now they say that the only way out of the dilemma is a national health plan. Knowing how wedded all three men are to the free-enterprise system, we can only guess how they must have agonized before opting for socialism.

Ed Meese leaves the Senate confirmation hearings caked with real dirt. For instance: While working for the Reagan campaign in 1980, Meese asked in a memo for (*gasp*) more information about Carter. Worse, some friends who helped him sell his California house after he moved to Washington subsequently got minor Administration jobs—to which the only reasonable response is: So what? (Andrew Young, as a reward for political services to Carter,

Songs of Sadness

There's a tear in the eye of the tenor
  Toward the climax of "Mother Machree,"
And a catch in the voice of Rodolfo
  Passing tissues to dying Mimì.
But the saddest of all the sad sob songs
  Is the AFL-CIO's dirge
As Lane Kirkland recalls Walter Mondale
  And the campaign that just wouldn't surge.

W. H. von Dreele

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got to give away Rhodesia.) Last, and worst, Walter Mondale, or was it Anthony Lewis, or is there any difference, warned that if Meese becomes Attorney General now, he will graduate to the Supreme Court in a second Reagan term. Ed Meese is a sober, conscientious public servant, whose tough stance on crime has won him support from unlikely quarters (one of those who testified on his behalf was Roy Innis). He will do credit to any position he holds.

"I listened to my heart, sought for any signs of my destiny in the sky. And there were none," said Pierre Elliott Trudeau, resigning as Canada's prime minister 16 years after he should have noticed his mistake.

During recent peregrinations, former Ambassador Robert White has continued to claim he possesses "solid evidence" linking Salvadoran leader Roberto d'Aubuisson with the March 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. Now the San José, Costa Rica, daily *La Nación* has a somewhat different story. On February 3, it published an interview with Pedro Lobo, a former leader of the left-wing FMLN guerrillas, who claims to have witnessed, and even participated in, meetings at which it was agreed that the archbishop would have to be sacrificed in order to create a new martyr. According to Lobo, the brains behind the operation were Salvador Cayetano Carpio and Mélida Anaya Montes (the guerrilla chieftain and his top aide who were murdered in Managua last year) and Joaquín Villalobos (the Castro figure among the Salvadoran guerrillas). Another participant in the plot, says Lobo, was a female member of the Basque terrorist organization, ETA, who posed as a nun and traveled under the alias "Dominica." It now seems time for Ambassador White to pull a Perry Mason and spring his surprise witness on us.

It's not Halloween yet, but on the island of Malta last week, at the invitation of Dionysius Mintoff, brother of the prime minister, Western peaceniks met Third World liberationists in an effort to pressure the superpowers to end the arms race. The West was represented by Daniel Ellsberg and Philip Berrigan, among others; the Third World, by Gamal Abdel Nasser's son, Patrice Lumumba's daughter, and Nicaragua's Minister of Culture, Ernesto Cardenal, among others. Meanwhile, where it counts—in Western Europe—the disarmament movement has fizzled like a spent Roman candle. "I've noticed an incredible weakening of the peace movement," confesses Petra Kelly, head of West Germany's Green Party. At a recent Bonn rally only sixty freezeniks turned out, down from the half million who would have taken to the streets just last fall. The peace movement was a victim of its own overblown rhetoric. It promised apocalypse if the Pershings and cruises reached their European bases. They did, and nothing happened, unless the shock of it all precipitated Yuri Andropov's final relapse. A clear win for the Reagan Administration, and for the NATO allies—despite Malta.

"Iowa's Democrats, having launched McGovern in 1972 and Carter in 1980, have a lot to answer for. But on Monday they made amends, of sorts, as they made three winners, and one thing clear. The winners are Lane Kirkland, Walter Mondale, and the Democratic Party. What is clear is a warning from rank-and-file Democrats to Republicans: 'This time we're serious.'" George Will, in a column called "The Democrats Get Serious," February 22. Well, er, that sort of thing does happen to you.

Treasury chief Regan was awarded a lesson in beginning economics when, addressing the Conservative Political Action Conference, he complained that uncollected taxes had reached $90 billion a year. The audience burst into applause.

If a few elections break right, we could have a summit between President Gary Hartpence and Prime Minister Anthony Wedgwood Benn.

We've finally got it figured out. Gary Hart was born, biologically speaking, in 1936. But he didn't consider himself fully human until 1937.

In case you haven't heard, a Gary-Jesse ticket is being advanced as Hart and Soul.

Hart and the 'New'

ON SO-CALLED Super Tuesday, Walter Mondale was forced back for political survival to Alabama and Georgia, states of the Old Confederacy and the once-solid Democratic South. Even in this desperate Mondale redoubt, it was a very close-run thing. He now looks hopefully northward, to other Democratic strongholds of yesteryear—the older industrial states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and the Midwestern industrial heartland. It may be that these states, where the old New Deal coalition still may twitch with some life, will allow him to limp on to San Francisco.

But his stunning losses on Tuesday in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Florida represent dismal por-

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tents for him. Gary Hart's appeal was potent in all three as the old New Deal coalition—or what remains of it—came apart at the seams.

Hart's upscale young professionals deserted it en masse for the recognizably "contemporary" senator, whose code-word is "new." To this core Hart constituency, Lane Kirkland means nothing whatever, and Tip O'Neill is an outright embarrassment. They, and Mondale, are "old," and not primarily in terms of chronology. But Hart's appeal on Tuesday extended to voters across the board, including union members, many of whom own swimming pools and speedboats. Jesse Jackson is also "new" in his own way, and thousands of blacks deserted Mondale and the "old" liberalism to vote for him. Even if Mondale somehow survives the Hart onslaught, Super Tuesday demonstrated dramatically that the old New Deal coalition is sick unto death.

GEORGE MCGOVERN spent the two weeks before primary day complimenting the voters of Massachusetts on their intelligence in 1972. All the other survivors abandoned the Bay State to Hart, concentrating on their presumed strengths in the South. Mondale, who could hardly be induced six months ago to say whose Vice President he had been, donned jeans and walked down the main street of Plains with Jimmy Carter. Glenn stood in front of the Confederate monument at Stone Mountain and waved the flag (the Stars and Stripes, to be sure). Jackson hunted up blacks. Hart relied on the magic of newness, which is universal. They assembled for a debate, two days before the balloting, in the Fox Theater, an old Moorish-style movie palace in downtown Atlanta.

If John Glenn, earlier in the campaign, had shown any of the spunk he displayed that evening, he would not have been languishing in a distant third place. He accused Hart and Mondale of supporting defense cuts that would leave America "emasculated" in the face of a "relentless" Soviet build-up, and ticked off the weapons systems they proposed to do without. Aiming directly at Hart, he said, "I've fought in wars when my life depended on technology. I do not agree with this smaller is simpler is cheaper is better." Walter Mondale, in a crouch on the ropes, slugged gamely. Reagan's "enormous deficits," he asserted with his customary overstatement, "guarantee that recovery is impossible." The Soviet Union, uncharacteristically, also came in for criticism, as a "powerful military force using its power irresponsibly in Poland, Cambodia, Afghanistan, and Syria." But Hart took most of Mondale's shots. "When I hear you talk about these new ideas, I'm reminded of that ad, 'Where's the beef?' " When Hart taxed him with ties to special interests, Mondale came right back. "Getting deficits down is not a special interest." Mondale's good roll ended with a slip of the tongue. "I've said from the beginning I'd stand up for—*against* special interests . . ." A laugh rippled through the house.

Hart ran left and faked right. He managed to weave into a discussion of the misery index, the "anguish of our children" over "nuclear holocaust" and toxic wastes. He disagreed with McGovern and Jackson over cutting the defense budget. "We shouldn't be wasting dollars," declared Jackson, "killing people in the Caribbean, in Central America, in Lebanon." Hart proposed an increase (of 4 per cent, versus the Administration's 12), including an increase "even over Ronald Reagan" in military pay.

FOR TWO WEEKS, explanations of the Hart phenomenon proliferated. New England is low on labor unions. More significantly, the muscles the unions have simply did not flex for Mondale. Union rank-and-file didn't like being told what to do. Some stayed home, intending to vote for Reagan; some voted for Hart. The union machine, of course, has been creaking for years; 42 per cent of the labor vote went for Reagan last time around. Arnold Beichman commented in these pages (April 3, 1981) that the AFL-CIO "is a paper tiger. . . . it no longer has the power, if it ever did, to punish its enemies, or even to reward its friends." Surveying their diminishing and increasingly anarchic empire, Lane Kirkland and his colleagues took a risk. They decided to craft a pro-union candidate from the very beginning, and back him to the limit. That gamble, whoever gets the nomination, looks lost. Their failure to deliver for Mondale has only confirmed their impotence.

Hart has finally begun coming in for hostile examination, chiefly of his age and name. Hart was born, as *NR* reported, on November 28, 1936. But his campaign literature puts his birthdate one year later. So, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, do his book, his driver's license, his Naval Reserve commission, and his biographies in *Who's Who* and the *Congressional Directory*. The oddity, however, was not the error, but Hart's explanation, that he was confused over his age because of a family joke in his childhood. Yet his college and graduate transcripts,

The Crèche Decision

By 5 to 4 the Court's decreed,
Besides the ads extolling greed,
The Santas and the silver bells
And all the antique Lionels,
The tinseled tree and lighted lawn,
Kids hooked on dashing down at dawn,
It's not illegal on the green
For towns to build a manger scene.

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

GARY HART would be a stronger candidate against Ronald Reagan than Walter Mondale would. That's what most Washington pundits think. Hart carries no New Deal baggage; projects a vision of the future, albeit fuzzy and ersatz (Fritz has none); emphatically confronts the President with the generation gap, he being 26 years Mr. Reagan's junior (approximately); and is uncoopted by special interests and untainted by James Earl Carter.

So, the White House is edgy. This political unknown has suddenly vaulted into front-runner status, displacing Walter Mondale, whom, in a sense, Dutch has been running against for 15 years —the picture-perfect specimen for Reagan vivisection. Retooling has already begun to give Mr. Reagan a future-oriented look. You will be hearing more from Mr. Reagan about building "an opportunity society," and more about high-tech jobs, space engineering, space ABMs, fiber-optics, microelectronics, robotics, and the "infinite possibilities for new economic growth in America's next frontier—space."

Having Hart at the top of the opposing ticket, rather than Mondale, would not be an unmixed loss for Reagan, however. First, the more specific Hart's proposals get, the easier they will be to attack. Besides conventional research into Mr. Hart's Senate history, the National Republican Committee is already pricing out how much will be bled from taxpayers to amass "the trillions of dollars to rebuild our national infrastructure" that Mr. Hart is calling for.

Second, Hart does not have the drawing power that Mondale has with blacks. True, the black vote maintains the same Democratic-to-Republican ratio irrespective of whom the two parties put up: 9 to 1 for the Democrats. (Actually, in the case of Reagan, the ratio will probably be 9.5 to 1.) But Hart will not get that extra level of turnout that Fritz would. That drop could be critical in potentially tight races where the black vote is large, like Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Illinois, Tennessee, and Texas.

Mr. Hart has had few dealings with black voters (Colorado having relatively few blacks); he has had no urban experience, and his cold-fish personality will not rev up black enthusiasm. "He's got the soul of a campaign manager," notes one student of the black vote here, "not the soul of a President."

This tipping of the balance by a slightly smaller black turnout might be even more critical in Senate races where the polls are showing the candidates running neck-and-neck, notably in North Carolina, Mississippi, Texas, and Illinois. So the GOP's chances of holding the Senate are also enhanced by Hart as nominee, rather than Mondale.

A curious dilemma is forcing the Washington Democratic establishment and the liberal press to search their souls. On the one hand they deplore Fritz's having put the party up for sale to special interests, and they sense that he is a sure loser against Reagan in November. On the other hand, Hart has them baffled and makes them nervous. Many feel that he is a bloodless technocrat without personal style who must ape JFK for mannerisms and quotes, a hybrid of David Stockman and Jerry Brown. Fritz, on the other hand, with his uncomplicated wooing of special interests and his flat-footed liberalism, is comfortable, a known quantity. Yet they know he cannot win. So what do they do? Hold their noses and fall in behind Hart.

Mondale's people are putting out the story that Hart is a draft-dodger, and that he has an eye for the trim ankle. Hart's age—in the 45 to 48 range—plus his divinity degree is the basis for the draft-evasion rap. However, since Hart was too old for Vietnam's conscription, and too young for Korea's, that barb seems to lack hook. As for his penchant for the trim ankle, so what else is new? Nevertheless, his name change (Hartpence to Hart) and the '81 Naval Reserve status (arm-twisted from the Pentagon)—in combination with these other character items—create a cloud of fugitive suspicion over Hart, which might yet yield some true thunder before November, and perhaps a lightning bolt or two. All of Mondale's negatives are on the table, remember. Likewise Reagan's. Hart's have yet to be laid out—the prospect of which inspires a certain *delectatio morosa*, a perverse gratification, even for —CATO

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long after childhood, were filled in accurately. The Hartpence name became Hart during his twenties: another ho-hum story. Here again, though, Hart fudged, claiming the change was his family's idea, when in fact he was the prime mover all along. There may, or may not, be a "character" issue buried here.

Hart, like John Anderson four years ago, has become the Nice People's candidate (though he so far seems to have an appeal far beyond Anderson's). The type deserves some examination. Nice People's candidates need large infusions of media hype. But the hype itself only works for politicians with certain characteristics. One is new ideas—Hart's leitmotif, but Anderson had them too (remember the gas tax?). The candidate must also appear to "transcend" labels, chiefly by having a few right-wing positions. Anderson supported the grain embargo; Hart can tout certain aspects of military reform. Fundamentally, of course, the Nice People's candidate must be a liberal. He can attack the representatives of special interests, but never the beneficiaries. Mondale, for example, has NOW's endorsement, but Hart is, if possible, an even more rabid feminist.

Who are the Nice People such candidates attract? Hart makes much of youth, which is partly specious. Hart was as old when FDR died as today's thirty-year-olds were when JFK died. Hart was a lawyer in Washington when the campuses erupted. Hart remembers Packards.

Yet Hart, and Anderson before him, whatever their chronological ages, caught the fancy of roughly the baby-boom generation. They are more white-collar than their elders, and hence not to be appealed to with standard New Deal voodoo. Well educated, they

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have a high opinion of their own intelligence. Their positions on world affairs and social mores were shaped, however indirectly, by the *Kulturkampf* of the Sixties. Their generation has not yet tasted power at the highest levels, and this may be the latent political force that Hart is mobilizing. —RSB

Pence Wise and Pound Foolish

GARY HART has been running slightly to Walter Mondale's right on economic issues. This is fine with Mondale, who accuses his opponent of being a tool of Big Oil and the AMA. For some reason this enabled Hart to run stronger in "liberal" Massachusetts than in "conservative" Alabama.

Mondale's attacks are enough to make you hope that Hart might have shed his old McGovernite views on economics. Alas, between the old Hart and the new there's only a pence' worth of difference. And even when he takes a sensible position, his loyalty to it is questionable.

For example, Hart has opposed the two pet objectives of the United Auto Workers: the Chrysler bailout and the egregious "local content" bill. Such stands are popular in Colorado, where the economy is tied more to exports than to the auto industry. But Hart initially endorsed the local-content bill and called for a more "comprehensive" solution to Chrysler's problems, which was taken to mean even more federal involvement in the industry than we actually got.

Despite his vaunted independence from the AFL-CIO, Hart has carefully tended to its interests in the Senate. He voted for the common-situs picketing bill, which would have let unions close down an entire construction site because of a dispute with a single subcontractor. Hardly anyone except the unions liked that one. He also voted to extend the already awesome power of the public-employee unions by repealing the Hatch Act.

On taxes, he once favored indexing but now wants to postpone it until 1989, which means, in practice, until the next convenient postponement. He opposed Kemp-Roth and favors a corporate surtax. He has given a token endorsement to the Bradley-Gephardt bill (lower tax rates, fewer deductions). In the meantime, however, he wants to raise tax rates and create more deductions; this is like being for piety on the Judgment Day and sin as an interim step.

We could forgive Hart a lot if only he *were* soft on Big Oil, as Mondale says he is. But in 1975 Gary Hart actually helped sponsor a bill to break up the major oil companies. He favors different oil taxes from the ones Mondale wants (an import fee instead of the windfall-profits tax) and reportedly opposed McGovern's call for a socialized federal oil and gas company ("FOG Co."). All these positions are consistent with the interests of small royalty holders, who are numerous and influential in Colorado.

There's a lot more. Stay tuned.

Come Home, America

Hart's face is fresh, and Pat Caddell,
Who helped to make the Carters sell,
Has packaged him so artfully,
It's hard to tell what's filigree
And what's the basic man beneath.
But I believe behind the teeth,
The cowboy boots, and all that hair,
You'll find McGovern's double there.

W. H. VON DREELE

The American Way

IN RULING that Pawtucket, Rhode Island, may put up a crèche at Christmastime, the Supreme Court has acknowledged that the wall of separation between church and state need not be as heavily fortified as, say, the Berlin Wall. Meanwhile, the Senate is considering a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools (while forbidding that any pupil be required to pray).

Liberals, of course, busily issue warnings, ranging from dark to hysterical, that prayer in the public schools would destroy the American tradition of religious liberty. These warnings would ring a little truer if religious liberty hadn't already survived three centuries of school prayer before the Court spotted the menace in 1962—and if liberals themselves showed a little concern about religious freedom in Communist countries once in a while. After all, if they care about racial justice in South Africa, they ought to care about religious freedom in Hungary, right? But liberals worry about religious freedom only when religious people are in power, almost never when militant atheists rule.

So it was that a *CBS Evening News* story recently explained that the Polish regime's removal of crucifixes from classrooms was an attempt to promote "the separation of church and state." Risible as it was, this threw a floodlight on what liberals really mean by the phrase.

There exists on the subject of religion what in other contexts liberals themselves would call "a clear pattern of discrimination." During their hegemony over American culture, liberals have shown an animus against religion, and against Christianity in particular. In their heads-we-win, tails-you-lose version of pluralism, Christians are not only required to avoid *giving* offense to others, they are also forbidden to

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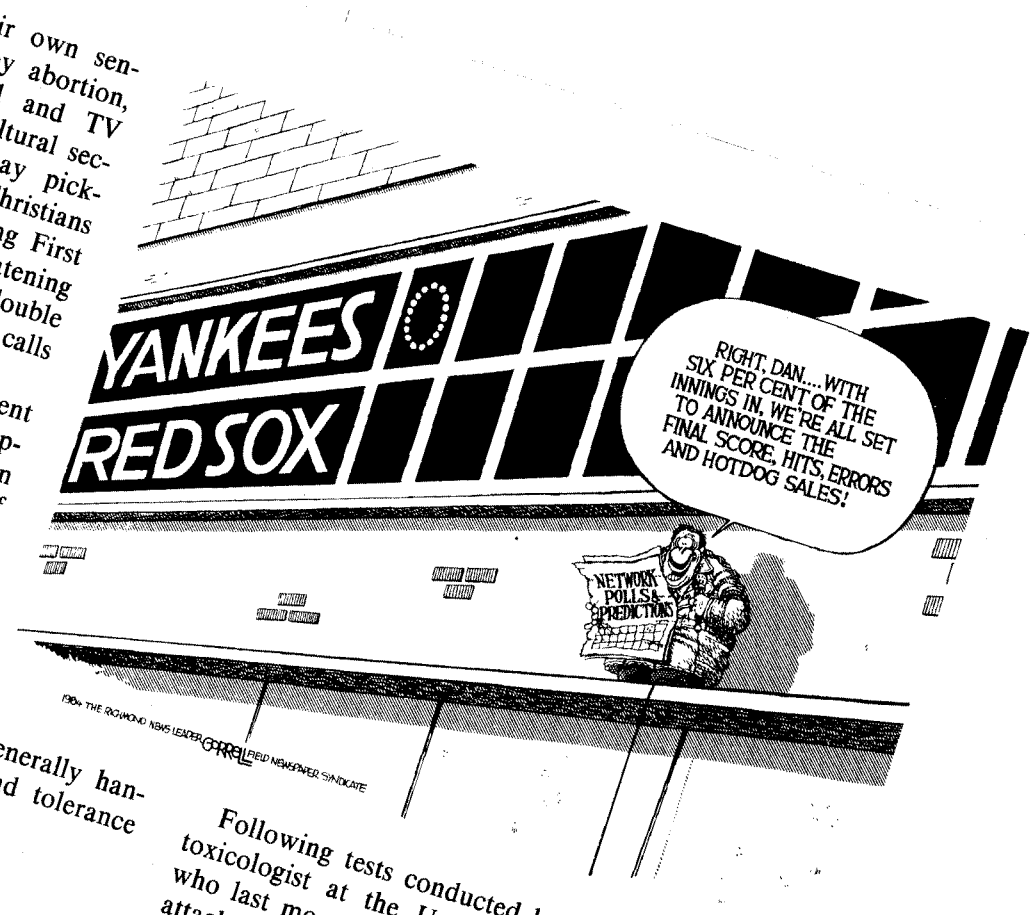
take offense when their own sensibilities are outraged by abortion, pornography, Hollywood and TV sleaze, and a dogmatic cultural secularism. Other groups may picket, protest, and boycott; Christians who do so are not exercising First Amendment rights, but threatening the First Amendment. This double standard is what Norman Lear calls "the American Way."

Gallup reports that 81 per cent of the American public so far opposes this version of the American Way as to desire the return of school prayer. Conservatives may feel it is inelegant to amend the Constitution in order to restore its original meaning, but they know who started this fight by removing the issue from the local jurisdictions where it belonged, and where it was generally handled in a spirit of far greater reason and tolerance than liberals have shown.


YANKEES 0
RED SOX
RIGHT, DAN... WITH SIX PER CENT OF THE INNINGS IN, WE'RE ALL SET TO ANNOUNCE THE FINAL SCORE, HITS, ERRORS AND HOTDOG SALES!
NETWORK POLLS & PREDICTIONS
1984 THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER/CORRELL FEED NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE

Dying in the Rain

"WE NEVER welcome an enemy with flowers," commented an Iraqi military officer recently. "Therefore, we will use all possible means to defend our country." On the defensive after three and a half years of war with Iran, Iraq has apparently chosen chemical weapons to halt the Iranian advances. Though some newspapers, such as the *New York Times*, have systematically and culpably downplayed the reports of chemical weapons, the *Wall Street Journal* has provided ample and horrifying coverage of the new kind of war Iraq is waging, its effects on its Iranian victims, and the source of the Iraqis' weapons.

In the March 13 *Journal*, Gordon Crovitz describes the imminent Islamic "martyrdom" of a 17-year-old soldier, one of the Iranians—their numbers may now be in the thousands—who weren't welcomed with flowers. He is in an intensive-care unit in an Austrian hospital. Crovitz writes: "Most of his skin is burned off and his bone marrow and lungs are eaten away. Machines keep him breathing—just." He will be dead in a few days; indeed, he is probably dead as you read this.

While some press accounts have treated the chemical weapons being used in the Gulf war as a kind of replay of World War I, the Iraqis are using chemical weapons far more advanced than those of seventy years ago. These new weapons, says Crovitz, are a combination of the old style of mustard gas and mycotoxins—the "yellow rain" reported by the Hmong tribesmen in Southeast Asia.

Following tests conducted by Aubin Heyndrickx, a toxicologist at the University of Ghent in Belgium, who last month confirmed U.S. reports of yellow-rain attacks in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan, Viennese physician Herbert Mandel declared that "with certain proof and without doubt the Iranians are suffering from the effects of mustard gas and yellow rain." While modern medicine has an antidote for mustard gas, it has none for yellow rain. Thus, the Iranians die slow, agonizing deaths, as the chemicals destroy first the immune response system and then the lungs. Then the bone marrow ceases to function, the gastrointestinal system collapses, and finally the kidneys stop (though no Iranian has survived to this last stage).

The next question is the source of the Iraqis' chemical weapons. While the Iranians claim that Britain is the source, Crovitz notes that Britain unilaterally destroyed its gas weapons in 1957. Crovitz suggests another source: the only country that has been charged with producing and transferring yellow rain—the Soviet Union.

A new pamphlet, *CBW: The Poor Man's Atomic Bomb*, published by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, supports his claim. Written by defense analysts Neil C. Livingstone and Joseph D. Douglass Jr., the pamphlet outlines the staggering danger posed by chemical and biological weapons, a threat that in many ways dwarfs the threat posed by nuclear weapons, if only because chemical and biological weapons are much easier and cheaper to produce.

The authors estimate that chemical weapons make up one-sixth of Soviet weapons stockpiles. Starting as far back as late 1967, they say, Moscow made the decision to supply Iraq with both chemical and biological agents. Since the Soviets also hope to bring Iran within their area of influence, Moscow tried to

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prevail upon Iraq not to use the weapons against Iran. Under severe military pressure, Iraq has decided to ignore Soviet wishes.

The *Times* has all along favored the "bee excrement" explanation of yellow rain, and presumably is searching the Iranian-Iraqi front lines for large swarms of bees. Such bees, however, appear to be entirely in the Hive.

The New Republic Problem

IN THE years since Martin Peretz assumed overall direction of *The New Republic*, the magazine has been rejuvenated. In its long history it has gone through a number of phases, but it is now more lively and informative than at any other time since 1945, and it often contains articles and reviews that are essential reading. Its Washington political reporting under Morton Kondracke is first-rate, and the magazine today is not knee-jerk in its analysis.

For example, the lead editorial in its February 20 issue was entitled "The Upside Abroad," and it took direct aim at the charge that the Reagan Administration has accomplished nothing in foreign affairs. It enumerates:

> First, there is the Euromissile victory. There are some for whom hitching the word "missile" to "victory" makes an oxymoron, but that is a sentimental view. . . . The Soviets' huge arsenal of SS-20 missiles was designed exclusively for the intimidation of Western Europe. Had the Soviets been able to exercise a veto over a Western counterdeployment whose aim was never more than parity, NATO would have sustained the most serious setback in its history, and perhaps the last. . . . Yet it is hard to think of a single Democratic candidate for President who would have toughed it out the way Mr. Reagan did.

We will return to that last sentence in a moment; meanwhile, the editorial goes on to Grenada: "The success was not that the U.S. Army was able to overcome a platoon of Cuban teamsters, but that an American President could gain the support of the country for intervention against a particularly obnoxious regime aligned with the Soviet Union."

"The third success has been the rebuilding of American defenses." The editorial quotes a critic of Reagan who "acknowledges that 'what the Soviets call the "international correlation of forces" has shifted in favor of the United States. In short, the Soviets are in a hole.' "

All of this amounts to a clear-headed assessment. Only, as noted above, *The New Republic* considers that "it is hard to think of a single Democratic candidate for President" who would have pushed through the Pershing II deployment, and it is hard to think of a single Democratic candidate who would have done the other things, either. And yet, and yet, *The New Republic* will almost certainly support Mondale or Hart this year. It supported John Anderson in 1980. This represents bankruptcy.

If a Mondale Administration comes to Washington—or, for that matter, a Hart Administration—the preponderance of posts in it will be filled with Democrats who for the most part disagree with every success *The New Republic* attributes to Reagan. As an individual, a Democratic President in 1985 might well agree with *The New Republic*'s assessment of Reagan's successes; but no Democratic Administration would, or even could, continue in the same direction. There is no longer any Henry Jackson wing of the Democratic Party, and there really has not been one since 1972. It will be interesting to observe how the intelligent folk at *The New Republic* attempt to deal with the gap between their policy preferences and their historical party allegiance.

Ah, Princeton

THERE SURFACES now at Princeton one of those peculiarly of-our-times dilemmas. *Ecoutez.*

A widow of Puerto Rican extraction, living in New York, has one daughter, very bright, who enters Princeton at age 16 as a freshman, to use the older terminology. The girl then moves in with a twenty-year-old Princeton undergraduate, male. The Princeton sex clinic, SECH, provides contraceptives. The mother, back in New York, has understandable trouble phoning daughter in her presumed dormitory residence.

The mother has traditional ideas about things; she pays a visit to Princeton, and the truth comes out. Mother is rebuffed by daughter.

Christmas rolls around, mother is alone since daughter is with boyfriend, and mother has by now had it up to here with Princeton. She decides that daughter will leave Princeton and live at home while attending Barnard College. To forward this idea, mother tells Princeton that she will no longer pay daughter's bills, a couple of thousand per year beyond her scholarship.

Princeton does not take this lying down, so to speak, and announces that it will pay the bills.

Without any sense of irony, a Princeton dean comments that the doctrine of *in loco parentis* has been dead for a long time, even as Princeton has moved to take the place of the parent in deciding how to handle the case of a minor. More extraordinarily, Princeton spokes-"persons" assert that the university would by no means pick up the bill in all cases where a parent declined to do so. The only conclusion that can be drawn from all of this is that Princeton actively *chose* to subsidize the behavior of this minor. Princeton, that is, chose precisely to be *in loco parentis*, or, as the campus joke goes, a loco

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parent. (Cf. "When Did Hobey Baker Die?" *NR*, Sept. 30, 1983). Lots and lots of legal action is in the wind. "Mistah Hobey, he dead."

Martin Niemöller, RIP

THE REVEREND Martin Niemöller was a man of God, but he was also a political figure, and most of the obituaries have focused on the latter aspect of his life. Focused imperfectly, since he was in many ways representative of the confusion of *Mitteleuropa* in the twentieth century.

A pastor of the Evangelical Church (a Lutheran denomination), Niemöller was forbidden to preach by the Nazis in 1934 because of his criticisms of the regime's religious policies. He then led the Confessing Church, a group of Protestant dissidents, and spent eight years in concentration camps. A hero of freedom, in a certain sense, perhaps. But there were also the postwar bouts of arrant fellow-traveling. He condemned America from Hanoi in 1967, and got the Lenin Peace Prize. A lifelong leftist, then? No.

In his twenties, Niemöller commanded a U-boat in the Imperial German Navy, and won the Iron Cross. After World War I, he supported the anti-Weimar Kapp putsch and voted for the rising National Socialists. He once identified as the "greatest shortcoming" of the Weimar Republic, its failure to "impose authority on the German people, which longed for such authority."

German nationalism is a complex phenomenon (read, for starters, the Settembrini/Naphta subplot of *The Magic Mountain*). Nobody has given much serious thought to it since its most perverse and flagrant incarnation was extinguished in a Berlin bunker. Aggressive and self-assertive nationalism failed in two world wars. Martin Niemöller came to speak for a new nationalism, contrite and neutralist, though no less skeptical of capitalism, party politics, and other Western imports. Cf. the Green Party. His personal courage under Hitler gave his pronouncements a moral authority they did not deserve.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I watched the Public TV presentation of the Yale Political Union on February 5, 1984, on the occasion of your alleged debate with former Senator McGovern.

Your entire presentation substituted ad hominem attacks on Dr. McGovern for reasoned arguments for your thesis. You are too expert a debater for this to have been inadvertent.

My conclusion is that even you can find no rational defense for the Reagan Administration.

Quousque tandem abutere, Guillielme, patientia nostra?

Sincerely,
Walter F. Tauber, MD
Obstetricians and Gynecologists
of Western Massachusetts, Inc.
Springfield, Mass.

Dear Dr. Tauber: All I did was midwife a few concessions. No point in going after Mr. McGovern's opinions, which are stillborn, you know what I mean? *Patientia tua de minimis non curat legem* Roe *v.* Wade, *1973.* Cordially, —WFB

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

Our Trans-O-Gram author, Svend Petersen, submits an apologia pro vita sua to all who have written to comment on his Trans-O-Grams, some of whom have made insolent queries about his background.

My Fellow Puzzle-Solvers and Gentlemen!

As a member of two minority groups—the foreign-born and American males—I am deeply grateful for the many letters you were kind enough to send me.

Let me make one thing perfectly clear—I did not invent the puzzles; the credit belongs to a charming lady, Mrs. Elizabeth S. Kingsley, who constructed them from 1934 until her death. Her gift of two of her books helped make my stay in a tuberculosis sanatorium back in 1945-46 considerably less tedious.

Once the process for making the puzzles entered the public domain in 1963, I began making them for NATIONAL REVIEW. I have enjoyed constructing them and have been encouraged by the plethora of bouquets and the paucity of brickbats thrown my way by *NR*'s readers. The name Trans-O-Gram was suggested by Mrs. Petersen, the only woman who could have survived 46 years with me.

Whatever talent I have is a gift from God, as I never went beyond high school, unless you count 18 semester hours of junior college. I graduated from high school only because my seat was needed for the next generation; I had been in school so long the rest of the kids were calling me Uncle Pete. By the way, I am not an intellectual. I am flattered to be included in the same magazine with a lot of doctors of philosophy, jurisprudence, and literature, even though I'm the last thing in the publication.

My life was spared back in 1912 when my parents and I decided not to take the *Titanic*. By growing up in the United States, I have been privileged to live in the greatest country on earth—the Promised Land, which has done so much for so many millions from other lands. American citizenship is next to salvation

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as far as I'm concerned. The only goddess I adore is the Lady with the Lamp—located in New Jersey.

During the Depression I had many narrow escapes from death when I rode passenger and freight trains as the guest of the railroads (the railroads didn't know about it) and hitchhiked. I have eaten with millionaires and with hoboes in the "jungles."

My philosophy may seem rigid if my audience considers only the quotations used in the puzzles. If laws and rules cannot be broken, they ought to be tempered with mercy and common sense, whether we are thinking in terms of morals, mores, and ethics, or about economic systems. Although I am a Baptist, I am able, as a result of six months spent with a family of Danish-Polish extraction when I was ten, to make the sign of the cross in Latin, English, and Polish (so can the Pope!). I have had so many blood transfusions as the result of open-heart surgery, bleeding ulcers, etc., that I am related to everybody and his brother-in-law. Incidentally, we cannot achieve the brotherhood of man without recognizing the Fatherhood of God.

When I first entered Manhattan in 1912, someone tried to sell my father the Brooklyn Bridge for a dollar. My father refused the offer, as he immediately saw the flaw in the bridge—it wouldn't go anywhere but Brooklyn.

I was living in Iowa when Ronald Reagan was announcing the White Sox and Cubs baseball games. (He has, taking all things into consideration, been a better President than he was a broadcaster.) Nixon didn't invent Sin, Carter didn't invent Virtue, and Reagan didn't invent Spending. President Reagan has inherited a concatenation of problems that have been accumulating since 1933. Let us give him all the help he needs—think of the alternative.

I don't carry all the information contained in the puzzles in my head (a malfunctioning computer), but I know where to look for it (not my head, the information). I hate to fill out forms for the burrocrats, even when I get money back as a result.

I believe that the American people have a higher intelligence quotient than the media and the Republican Party (with some honorable exceptions) give them credit for. By the way, I can recall the last time the GOP won the White House and both Houses of Congress—1928. I am hoping for an encore. Then I'll be ready for the return of Halley's Comet!

By the way, what is Trans-O-Gram stock trading at now?

Sincerely your friend,
Svend Petersen
Altamonte Springs, Fla.

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Ed Capano

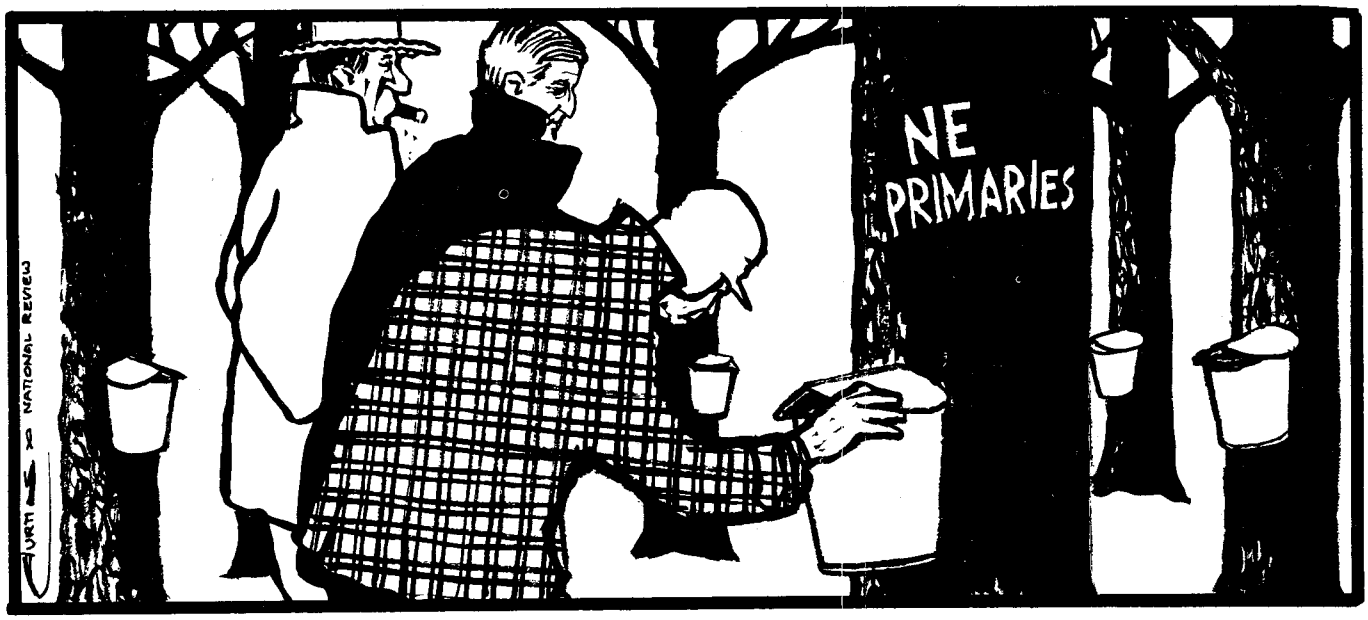
Would you mention in "Notes & Asides" that reprints of Edward Meadows's piece on the Grace Report (March 9) are available at: 50¢ each; 100 to 499 copies, 40¢ each; 500 or more, 25¢ each. Thanks.

☐ Dear Bill:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your new book, which I shall read as soon as I finish *Overdrive*. I don't know how you do it with only four writers in your office. I have five—a black, two women, a Jew, and a cripple.

Cheers,
Art [Buchwald]
Washington, D.C.

—WFB



"Looks like vinegar, Mr. Mondale."

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SECOND-TERM AGENDA

While Walter Mondale and Gary Hart thrash each other to see who will suffer himself to be thrashed by Ronald Reagan in November, some far-sighted Reaganites have turned their eyes to the incumbent President's second term and what should be on its political agenda. Certain actions are obligatory, of course, like cutting spending, holding the line in Central America, installing more Reaganites in the Administration, and fortifying the conservative movement's structure and thrust for '88. Other systematic efforts the President would do well to take up have been surfacing for months; herewith, a sampling for your inspection.

1. *Repudiate quotas and preferences.* The President should personally become the lead spokesman in denouncing all forms of systemic preferences in American life. It behooves Mr. Reagan to use the moral force of his office to lead the nation into renouncing nearly 15 years of acquiescence in such discrimination. Color- and gender-blindness is the order of the day.

In TR's Footsteps

2. *Bring the judiciary into line.* A practical expression of the President's leadership in this area would be his appointments to the bench, including those vacancies on the Supreme Court likely to occur before 1988 (five Justices will be eighty or older by then). RR might draw inspiration from TR, who said, "I may not know much law, but I certainly know how to put the fear of God into judges."

3. *Scuttle cost-of-living increases.* Such an adjustment to entitlement programs will bring the budget back into balance in the long run, and will accomplish this without causing hardship to those who have no choice but to depend on government largesse. As an extra benefit, such curtailment would help to whip inflation by creating new and noisy anti-inflation constituencies. A low-inflation lull is the ideal time to accomplish this.

4. *Change the Social Security system.* The system was adopted at a time when actuarial tables showed that relatively few people would live much beyond age 65. Although longevity has shot way up, those actuarial assumptions have never been updated. The SS benefit tables must be readjusted, therefore, to fit the longer working life and the longer retirement period. Otherwise, the ever-escalating and very regressive SS tax increases will go right on bloating. The conservative Mr. Reagan in his invulnerable second term has got to bite this bullet.

5. *Item veto.* On appropriations measures, the President should bust his butt (keister) to get authority to veto line by line, essential to keeping budget deficits in check. The item veto is superior, by the way, to the balanced-budget amendment, whose language would necessarily be impossibly opaque.

6. *Tell the Europeans to build up their NATO forces.* Otherwise, we start pulling some of our troops out. Of course, we will lend them a hand (a new Marshall Plan, anyone?) but we are not going to take all the heat for the Pershings, the enhanced-radiation warheads (neutron bombs), and missile-launching submarines. Why should we bear the brunt of criticism by European nations, when the fact of the matter is that we are there primarily for their safety, secondarily for ours?

7. *Build space ABMs.* How ludicrous that we continue to construct big and expensive offensive weapons like the B-1 and the MX, and yet fear any potency in defensive (anti-satellite, anti-missile) weaponry. With our laser technology and space stations, we have the capacity to put ourselves on a course whereby our defense establishment will think defense rather than offense. It was Kosygin in the late Sixties who broached the ABM idea for the Soviets, and laughed scornfully at those here and elsewhere who said that such a defensive system would antagonize opponents into a first strike. Now the Russians have their ABMs ringing Moscow, SALT II notwithstanding. We need a revolutionary kind of thinking in our defense planning that only a strong, politically secure Commander-in-Chief can put in train.

Look Eastward

8. *Focus U.S. trade on Asia.* The Pacific Basin nations—Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, the Republic of China, Communist China, Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia—have large populations, dynamic growth patterns, and little in the way of debt burdens. By moving the focus of U.S. trade away from the Western Hemisphere and Europe, and by creating export incentives for American industry (perhaps even a common market between these Pacific nations and the U.S.), we can reduce our trade deficit and expand our economy.

9. *Draw closer to the People's Republic of China.* (Hear me out, please.) The President should make it clear to the PRC leadership that we regard the Chinese as a quasi-ally with us against the Soviets. Is it not clear that over the long haul the Chinese can be molded into a formidable rival to the Soviets? Mr. Reagan ought to solidify that idea, and not let it be subject to the vacillations of our domestic policies. In no sense does this entail any abrogation, any slightest diminution of our commitment to Taipei, any casting of the Nationalist Chinese adrift. Rather, what it means is that by using the geostrategic China card against the USSR, the U.S. would induce restraint by the Soviets and permit us to remain strong within our own spheres, and in support of our enduring friends, like the Nationalist Chinese.

That's for openers. □

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'JAW-JAW'—PART 2

THE SUBJECT will not go away, so I come back to it. Were the Western leaders who attended the latest in the current series of funerals in Moscow right to do so? Was President Reagan wrong not to go? What, if anything, do fleeting visits of this kind achieve?

I wonder how many of the leaders who made the trip—principally, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Chancellor Kohl, and French Premier Mauroy—had read ex-President Nixon's remarks on the matter? Perhaps the question is unfair, since Richard Nixon's short book (*Real Peace: A Strategy for the West*) was initially published privately. Now that it is publicly available on both sides of the Atlantic, however, it deserves close attention and study.

I write as a consistent opponent of the whole process of détente, principally on the grounds that it yielded only a phony détente anyway and was the main contributing factor in the appalling strategic reverses of the Carter years. Since détente, on the Western side, was largely the work of President Nixon (with Henry Kissinger as the executant not the innovator of policy), he cannot be entirely exonerated from the consequences of his legacy in the less capable hands of his immediate successors.

It is true, on the other hand, that Watergate and its aftermath deprived Nixon of the chance of supervising the process enshrined in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference in 1975. Doubtless he would have brought a firmer and more realistic touch to bear on what had become a dangerously fluid situation.

At all events, his brief but powerful and realistic work is a useful corrective to those (and there are many) who suppose that the mere fact of talking to whoever happens to be the new man in Moscow will in itself reduce the danger of war between the superpowers.

Nixon's concept of "real peace" is a highly conditional one, to be guaranteed not by bits of paper but by deterrence, de facto "linkage," and raising the price of aggression.

Deterrence does not need much elaboration here. Encouraged by a starry-eyed view of détente, Jimmy Carter and his advisors allowed the Soviets to gain a crucial margin of superiority over the United States in strategic weapons (among which I include the SS-20, whatever the specialists may say). President Reagan is restoring the balance.

"Linkage" requires perhaps more comment than Nixon himself gives it. As he says, the Soviets reject explicit linkage (as with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment tying trade to Soviet emigration policy); but they adapt to linkage as a fact: Aggression means less or no trade, and less or no arms control.

Soviet exploitation of Third World poverty amounts to what I call "indirect aggression." That, too, calls for linkage.

As for summitry, Nixon has this to say: "No American President should go to the summit unless he knows what is on the other side of the mountain. Rushing into a quickie summit just so the leaders of the superpowers can get acquainted would be a stupid and devastating mistake." Wisely, in my view, President Reagan decided not to make the journey to Moscow, but sent Vice President Bush in his place, thus meeting the requirements of protocol without deeper involvement.

As for the other Western leaders, perhaps the best that can be said about the "quickie summits" they had with the new boss of the ruling Communist Party, Konstantin Chernenko, is that in the circumstances of a funeral no great harm is likely to have been done. Even Mrs. Thatcher, accused all round of having discarded her Iron Lady image, did make the point that she expected results in "years, not months."

It is perhaps fair to add that since Konstantin Chernenko is the same age as Ronald Reagan and nowhere near as fit, he may not be around to give the Prime Minister the results she was hoping for.

Marxist Fossils

THE EMERGENCE of Chernenko is of course the best possible illustration of the fossilization of the Soviet system. Objectively, as Marxists like to put it, the USSR needs a younger and more dynamic leader than it has had lately (fitness however being far more important than age). In fact the choice fell on the ultimate apparatchik, Chernenko, because the older men around (Tikhonov, Gromyko, Ustinov) would presumably like to live out their days undisturbed by upheavals, and because the younger men (Gorbachev, Romanov) had not had time, despite the late Yuri Andropov's patronage, to build up the personal "mafia" without which no member of the Politburo can aspire to the top job.

And yet, the advent of Chernenko almost certainly means change—in the wrong direction. In Paris, the powerful French Communist Party—which is very close to Moscow while pretending that it is not, because it is serving in President Mitterrand's government—is dismayed by Chernenko's emergence. They see in him, on past record, the kind of Soviet leader whose main interest will be to restore the disciplined cohesion of the Western Communist parties under Moscow's aegis. If he so insists, the French Communists could well pull out of the government and go back on the rampage.

All this, meanwhile, looks terribly provisional, and I am left wondering just who will attend next year's funeral in Moscow. □

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Neomercantilism

IS THERE A CASE FOR TARIFFS?

William R. Hawkins

NEARLY ALL ECONOMISTS agree that the recession of 1980-82 is over and that the economy is again on the upswing of the business cycle. Yet, despite low inflation and increases in real income and spending, unemployment is expected to stay at levels above what used to be considered normal. This is a continuation of the trend of the 1970s. Unemployment *before* the start of the recession was an unhealthy 7.4 per cent.

Much of the current unemployment is divorced from the actions of the business cycle. The structural component of joblessness has been growing. It is no longer confined to those who lack education, skills, or experience. The ranks have been swelled by the addition of hundreds of thousands of persons formerly employed in the industrial sector who have been laid off because of plant closings. This situation has touched off a debate on industrial policy the like of which has not been seen since before World War II.

Past industrial policies have been based on macroeconomics. Control of the business cycle by fiscal and monetary manipulations, despite a spotty record of performance, has been considered the best means for helping the economy attain full employment and growth. Today, however, a microeconomic approach is needed. Specific industries are in trouble. Policies aimed at stimulating the economy in general will provide only a small amount of help to these troubled sectors. The rest of the stimulation will be dispersed over the economy at large, with the probable result of higher inflation.

The standard conservative policies of the Reagan Administration have been only partially successful. Monetary restraint has brought down the rate of inflation faster than nearly anyone expected. This has removed a major obstacle to economic advancement, but it has not provided positive support for advancement. Some supply-siders have felt that monetary restraint has been too strong and interest rates too high to sustain expansion, while other economists have blamed large budget deficits for the high long-term rates. Investment, of course, is more sensitive to interest-rate considerations than is consumption. In addition, supply-side policy based on cuts in the personal income tax rate has provided a general rather than a specific stimulus. Supply-side policy is just another version of macro-fiscal policy, albeit geared to production. Its emphasis on capital formation and incentives for investment and work is a marked improvement over Keynesianism, which promoted consumption over savings as a policy goal. However, at the moment, the effect of Administration policy has been more to fuel economic recovery through consumption than reindustrialization through investment. Take-home pay has been boosted, but most of this goes for spending rather than for savings. So far, there is little to distinguish supply-side policy as implemented from Keynesian policy other than its stated intent.

In the meantime, the core of American heavy industry continues to decline not only in a relative sense compared to the industrial strength of other nations, but in some categories in an absolute sense as well. Unemployment is only part of the problem. The example of this trend that is most often cited is steel production. As Ray S. Cline of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies has stated:

> For the past century the predominant place in industry has been held by steel. It goes into almost everything that builds manufacturing capability, and steel plants always have a high priority in developing nations. The gross magnitude of national steel production is one of the most appropriate measures of the power of an industrial nation.

Between 1970 and 1980, the gross magnitude of U.S. steel production showed a decline, from 131.5 million short tons to 112.1 million. In contrast, Japanese production increased from 102.9 to 122.8 million tons during the same period. Production in the European Economic Community also declined, but less than U.S. production did. Furthermore, 15 per cent of EEC production goes for exports, while U.S. steel imports have been rising, indicating that the American industry is unable to keep pace with demand. Worldwide, steel production increased by more than 24 per cent during the 1970s, so that the developed Western economies suffered a major loss in relative position.

Imports are making serious inroads in other industries as well, as the table on the next page illustrates. There has even been erosion in the capital-goods area, traditionally the strongest component of U.S. trade. In 1982, exports fell 9.3 per cent while imports were up 2.5 per cent. In certain categories of high-technology goods, this has been particularly marked. Foreigners have already captured 60 per cent of the computerized-machine-tool market (including robotics).

Free-traders seem quite content for the United States to lose a major part of its industrial base as a "natural" result of a new global division of labor. Libertarians and many conservatives counsel benign neglect, while their lib-

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eral counterparts aim their policies at easing the social costs of the transition to a post-industrial economy.

Paul Seabury, who specializes in national-security issues at the University of California at Berkeley, has pointed out the dangers of such a stance in a recent *Journal of Contemporary Studies*. He observes that "in light of the deteriorating state of its basic industries, the United States has a clear need for a coherent industrial policy." However, such a policy would have to be based on different criteria from those used by other nations because of the special strategic needs of the U.S. as a world power.

> The American industrial base constitutes the strategic core of free-world defenses. Those who, whether in the interest of free trade or a "high-tech" boom, are content to remain untroubled by the demise of U.S. basic industry would do well to remember Solon's warning to Croesus: "Sir, if any man hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold."

To Seabury, the entire post-industrial myth presents a threat to long-term economic, political, and military survival.

The U.S. merchandise-trade imbalance continues to worsen, owing, about equally, to a decline of exports and an increase of imports. Martin Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, has predicted that the trade imbalance could reach $100 billion this year. C. Fred Bergsten has written that "an increasing trade deficit is an enormous reduction in GNP. When the trade deficit swings from $30 billion to $100 billion, it takes 2 per cent off the GNP." This translates into the loss of more than two million jobs domestically.

There is a strategic angle here that is often overlooked. The U.S. has run a consistent deficit in the overall balance of payments for three decades, in part because of its role as the major defender of the Western world. The maintenance of a global network of military bases and the forward deployment of fleets and other military units cost a great deal. Economic and military aid to allies and others must also be added in. Ideally, the U.S. should aim for a trade surplus to offset these strategic payments, just as the mercantilist powers of an earlier age aimed at a trade surplus in order to acquire specie to pay for troops and supplies. For much of the postwar period the U.S. was able to do this to some degree, but without a change in policy the prospects for doing so again appear remote.

This is an age-old principle that manifests itself in other ways as well. Apologists for Japan, the commercial republics of East Asia, and various developing states in the Third World that seek to maximize exports argue that such a strategy is needed in order to earn funds to pay for raw-material imports. This argument has taken on increased significance since the oil-price shocks of the 1970s. It stands to reason that if a surplus is advantageous, a deficit must be disadvantageous.

Imports as a Percentage of Apparent U.S. Consumption, 1970 and 1981: Selected Strategic Industries

	1970	1981
Passenger cars	15.2	27.3
Trucks	4.0	20.0
Steel	13.8	19.1
Machine tools	12.1	29.2
Farm machinery	8.0	19.0
Construction equipment	2.6	9.2
Semiconductors	10.9	38.7
Computers	4.0	8.0
Ball and roller bearings	7.0	15.2
Valves and pipe-fittings	3.2	8.6
Tires and inner tubes	5.0	14.8

Source: Paul Seabury, "Industrial Policy and National Defense," Journal of Contemporary Studies, *Spring 1983*

LIBERALS, HAVING FOUND Keynesianism inadequate, have turned their attention to reindustrialization. This is a wise tactic, since it addresses a real and lasting problem. Unfortunately, their wisdom ends there. Behind their common-sense calls for increased investment, research, capital formation, and entrepreneurial activity lurks their not-so-hidden agenda of preserving the welfare state, the power of the labor unions, and the electoral base of the Democratic Party in the Frost Belt. Barry Blueston and Bennett Harrison make this explicit in *The Deindustrialization of America* by calling their program "reindustrialization with a human face." Their solution: "The first piece of business is to re-establish a public commitment to the maintenance (and indeed the expansion) of the social wage." By this they mean the entire matrix of welfare and social programs financed by higher, more progressive taxes. They reject the corporatist "Japanese" approach because it weakens the unions. Robert Reich, perhaps the most prolific writer on this subject, envisions a future where "firms will become the agents of their employees, bargaining for different packages of government-supported social services." Reich has revealed more and more of his liberal-left outlook as his articles have moved from mainstream publications such as *Foreign Affairs* and *The Atlantic* to fringe journals such as *Dissent* and *democracy*. To liberals, reindustrialization is a smokescreen behind which plans can be formulated to absorb business into the welfare state. It is highly doubtful that such plans would actually increase productive capacity or employment in industry.

Yet, the liberals have the floor because conservatives have failed to come up with a realistic alternative program. Claiming that there is no problem or that everything will work out "in the long run" will not do. You can build a movement by criticizing the mistakes of others, but you cannot establish that movement as the dominant force in government without a positive policy.

This article presents a way of thinking about such problems. It will be called Neomercantilism.

THE ORIGINAL MERCANTILISM has taken a beating from theoretical economists ever since Adam Smith devoted a large part of *The Wealth of Nations* to attacking its policies. In fact, the intellectual snobbery of the theorists has been such that nothing written before Smith is considered to be true "economics." To these theorists, the *arcana imperii* of men who built great nations and empires are of no interest. Yet, the world has not changed as

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much as the classical theorists, with their roots in the idealism of the Enlightenment, thought.

The distinguishing characteristic of classical economics is not the defense of private property. Property rights were vigorously upheld by the same Tories whom the Liberals assailed on every other issue in the nineteenth century. The conceptual innovation that underlay classical economics was the market. Not the market in the sense of buying and selling, but the market in the sense of an autonomous entity that was to be the final arbiter and judge of human activity and to which all other concerns were to be subordinated. This is manifested in three ways relevant to this discussion: a labor market where wages and employment fluctuated freely under competition; free trade, under which national boundaries were to disappear; and consumer sovereignty, by which all economics became demand-oriented.

This system came to dominate the emerging field of economics, becoming more entrenched as the field became more professional. Outside the profession, the theory was not so persuasive and human behavior not so easily changed. As Keynes observed in regard to free trade, it held sway among economists but "the majority of statesmen and practical men in most countries . . . have remained faithful to the ancient doctrine [mercantilism]." And well they should. Conservatives should be most suspicious of the market ideology. As Russell Kirk constantly reminds us, conservatives profess "faith in prescription and distrust of 'sophisters, calculators, and economists' who would reconstruct society upon abstract designs." This argument has been used with good effect against utopians of the Left, but it can be turned on the Right, as well, whenever conservatives too closely embrace the libertarian ideology. In point of fact, the classical liberal's desire to replace society and the nation with the atomistic individual and the global market has drawn fire from conservatives for two hundred years. Unfortunately, because classical theory does provide useful arguments against the claims of socialists, conservatives are often blind to the fact that classical liberalism is based on a view of the world different from their own. A difference that becomes most clear whenever a national border is reached. Adam Smith observed that "a merchant . . . is not necessarily the citizen of any particular country." However, statesmen have a responsibility to serve their national community.

Classical trade theory argued that competition among labor on an international scale would equalize wage rates. Within nations, labor could migrate from low-wage to high-wage areas, raising wages where labor was leaving and lowering wages where labor was arriving as supply changed relative to demand. However, this was not the expected method of equalization among nations, because immigration laws, family ties, language barriers, and distance would militate against labor movements. (Mexico represents a special case where there are major wage differences on the two sides of an easily crossed border.) Instead, the expected process would be a movement of jobs, since capital is far more mobile than labor. Either companies would move the location of their plants from high-wage to low-wage areas, thus changing demand for labor and hence wages; or competition between firms would result in low-wage firms expanding into markets previously served by high-wage firms.

Since the labor market is not without friction, this process can produce extended periods of unemployment for workers in the high-wage areas. This would serve to pressure workers to take wage cuts. Ricardo postulated a grim outcome to this competition: Wages in the long run would remain at the subsistence level. Under current conditions, with the Third World possessing an abundant labor pool spawned by over-population and wage rates below what Western workers would consider a subsistence level, an equalization of wages would present a frightful prospect for American labor.

Though there is indeed downward pressure on wages in the U.S. (and not all of it unjustified), it is far more likely that high unemployment will be the primary result of global labor competition. Several factors besides "sticky" wages contribute to this. Skills do not transfer. A fifty-year-old steelworker in Allentown is not going to become a computer programmer in Palo Alto. To theorists, labor is just another factor of production, like a carload of iron ore—only it cannot be shuffled around as casually.

Conservatives often exhibit a callousness toward labor that would have caused even Ricardo to blush. In human terms, unemployment does not just mean lost income to the displaced worker, but a severance of the social bond forged in the workplace-community. Unemployment compensation and welfare can cushion the material loss, but

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those who are forced to live on charity suffer a loss of spirit and self-esteem. A worker who loses his job through no fault of his own is different from the idler who is a permanent member of the welfare underclass. Conservatives who are concerned with the work ethic and social order must be concerned with unemployment. Would it not be better, if it comes to this, to subsidize employment through an industrial policy rather than subsidize unemployment through a welfare system?

Of course, wage rates do not tell the whole story. American workers have always been the highest paid in the world. The key is productivity, which governs unit labor costs. This means capital and technology so that workers can work "smarter." The problem is that technological advantages do not endure nor do they occur at a steady rate—something that those who argue that as basic American industries decline under foreign pressure, U.S. firms can simply move to high-technology products or processes fail to realize. Comparative advantage in manufacturing is not stable, but subject to changes over time, including changes wrought by national industrial policies. Thus wage rates reassert themselves as the key cost factor. An example is provided by the recent decision of Atari to relocate its factories to Taiwan and Hong Kong. High technology is not immune to the lure of cheap labor as long as the firms are free to export their production back into the markets they have physically abandoned. This is what led Wolfgang Hager, an economist with the Brussels-based European Research Associates, to write:

> The problem with free trade is simple. The world has an endless supply of subsistence-wage labor and we have learned how to make both basic and sophisticated goods in poor, developing countries. Without trade barriers, rich countries are bound to suck in cheap imports from low-wage countries, destroying the domestic industries that used to make those products. There will never be enough new "high-tech" jobs to employ those who lose more traditional jobs. Therefore, unrestricted trade would eventually destroy the economies of all the high-wage, developed countries.

It is quite natural and reasonable not only for labor leaders but for national leaders to attempt to protect their lands from this fate. *The voice of the market is not the voice of God.* Market forces yield certain results, but whether those results are desirable is not a matter merely of economic factors. Conservatism, more than any other philosophy, should understand this.

Adam Smith formulated the classical statement of the principle that economic growth is dependent on the division of labor and the scale of the market. However, it seems clear that the value of large markets was known well before this. Smith was not the first to oppose the feudal-bureaucratic barriers to commercial activity within nations. The leading French mercantilist, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, spent most of his reformist energies in pursuit of internal-trade liberalization and the freer movement of labor, material, and goods during the reign of Louis XIV. Smith's innovation was to extend this concept to its "logical" extreme by advocating the free movement of goods across national boundaries. The political order was to be subordinate to the economic order. As a prominent modern economist, Harry G. Johnson, put it, the nation-state has no economic meaning. Classical theory has as its goal a theoretically optimal allocation of global resources.

Mercantilists, meanwhile, are concerned with the distribution of industry, wealth, employment, and power among national groups. This makes for the major schism between classical liberalism and nationalism. For a while at the start of the nineteenth century, liberalism and nationalism were allies against conservatism. But by the end of the century, conservatism had embraced nationalism (as liberalism alienated it). Conservative nationalism has proven more politically potent than either liberalism or socialism, for very practical reasons. (It is also for practical reasons that liberals and leftists use every opportunity to undermine nationalistic feelings.) In contravention of the claims of idealists, the world is likely to stay divided into competing nation-states for quite some time. Thus the term "world market" has little more meaning than the terms "world opinion" and "world government." International trade is not harmonious. It is competitive, and the stakes are very high.

England became the home of the free-trade ideology after it had emerged victorious from the mercantile wars

Now, one can accept the validity of the principle of division of labor and still wish to place prudent limits on its use. The Founding Fathers placed the Commerce Clause in the Constitution to ensure an open domestic market free of state barriers to commerce, but at the same time they did not rule out national barriers to trade. Though they clearly approved of exporting, importing was a different matter.

In a world of competing nations, a full realization of global specialization of labor would pose considerable vulnerabilities. Any list of economic objectives must include stability. One advantage large nations have over small is the ability to diversify so that prosperity does not come to depend on the price of copper, coffee, oil, or any other single commodity. Also, interdependence among nations requires a high degree of confidence that trading relationships will continue. These are among the reasons why nations have traditionally sought, for security reasons, to enclose an area large enough to sustain a division of labor under a single flag. It is the political equivalent of the vertical-integration and conglomeration tactics used by large corporations.

Advocates of free trade, particularly libertarians, often claim that the interdependence produced by trade will usher in an era of world peace—a notion that has no foundation in either history or current events. This view was most popular just before World War I and again just after World War II. It accounts for much of the continued liberal-left support for free trade even as the Left has rejected classical economic theory in all other areas. Technical advances in communications and transportation do seem to have brought the world closer together, but this is an illusion. The human element of competing values and ambitions has not changed. Nor has the fundamental economic assumption: At any point in time, resources are

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scarce relative to wants. Thus the technical advances have only provided nations with the means to carry out their rivalries on a global scale. World unity is not at hand.

Some interdependence is inevitable if for no other reason than that nature has not deposited vital resources uniformly around the earth. The United States is dependent on vital minerals such as cobalt and chromium from southern Africa and, to an important extent, on oil from the Persian Gulf. Has such dependence lessened or heightened the chance for conflict? Should the U.S. add steel, computers, or machine tools to this list of critical imports? The answers should be obvious to even a casual observer. Interdependence means that events anywhere in the world can affect domestic well-being. This creates an imperative to control foreign events so as to avoid or reduce external shocks to one's own system. Interdependence leads to intervention.

This point has been made repeatedly by Robert Gilprin of Princeton. He has criticized the Manchester School and its modern followers because:

> They have too frequently viewed economic interdependence as symmetrical in nature, equally binding on all parties. They have not recognized that economic and political advantage can accrue to particular groups or nations . . . theorists have insufficiently analyzed its negative consequences for the core values and interests of nation-states and their constituent members.

Free trade has always been most popular in countries that thought they could expand by its promotion. England became the home of the free-trade ideology *after* it had emerged victorious from the mercantile wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and had established an early lead in the Industrial Revolution. For England, free trade meant cheap imports of food and raw materials and easy access to foreign markets for its manufactured goods. It is significant that Ricardo's famous cloth-wine example of comparative advantage concluded that England should export the output of its factories while Portugal should remain an agricultural exporter and not try to industrialize. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 supposedly marks England's adoption of free trade, yet the purpose of ending restrictions on grain imports was to provide cheap food for the working class, which would translate into low wages so that England could continue to underprice foreign competitors in manufactured goods. The aim was still to push industrial production.

In the U.S., "Open Door" advocates sought to gain access to foreign markets for American business. Though given an idealistic cast, the aim was to promote American industry through exports even as industry was still protected by tariffs at home. A consensus for free trade did not manifest itself until after World War II, when American industry was virtually the only intact economic base on the globe. Prior to this time, there had been a long tradition of granting aid to industry that ran from the Federalists to the Whigs and on to the Republicans.

Indeed, there has been a major reversal in Republican economic thinking and political fortunes since the 1930s. In the Gilded Age of dynamic capitalism, during which the United States became the greatest industrial power on earth, "Republican leaders favored an activist government and policies which encouraged industrialization," according to historian Tom E. Terrill. "The GOP, which included champions of industrialization and the spiritual heirs of Hamilton and Clay among its strongest factions, naturally took up protectionism." In contrast, the Democratic Party has been the home of a succession of groups hostile to industry: agrarians, populists, socialists, environmentalists. Unfortunately, after their long years of fighting pernicious government policies from the New Deal to the Great Society, Republican leaders have forgotten that government can play a positive as well as a negative role in the economy.

In terms of basic manufacturing capacity, the United States has managed to keep pace with Europe over the last decade, but not with Japan. Meanwhile, there exists a large over-capacity in many industries worldwide. Many of the current rivalries and trade policies have resulted from various nations' attempts to avoid having this excess capacity eliminated at the expense of their own firms. Since many nations possess an industrial capacity that exceeds their own needs, exports into foreign markets (particularly the American market) are essential to keep their firms in operation. Such nations are exporting more than products, they are also exporting unemployment and financial losses. In contrast, American industry has not grown as fast as demand and cannot fulfill domestic needs, let alone provide for a high volume of exports. Just as exports aid an economy in its growth by expanding the scale of its market, imports can stunt the growth of an economy by preventing it from achieving the full scale it could obtain from its domestic market. The United States has the world's largest affluent internal market, a considerable asset that has promoted growth in the U.S. throughout its history. Now foreign nations are using that market to fuel their growth at the expense of American industry and labor.

WHAT NATIONS PRODUCE is important. Few nations wish to remain non-industrial, since states condemned by the division of labor to produce only agricultural products or raw materials have stagnated in relative poverty and powerlessness. It is quite probable that nations which become dependent only on information or service industries will also be anemic in power-producing assets. Every nation that has sought major-power status has adopted mercantilist policies in order to build the wealth and strategic industries needed for that role.

This brings us to the third tenet of classical liberalism, the bias toward consumption over production. Conservatives have been justly critical of the Keynesian fear of under-consumption and over-savings, which spawned policies detrimental to capital formation and investment. Yet, the roots of this attitude can be traced back beyond Keynes to Adam Smith. Though Smith named his treatise *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* and concentrated the bulk of his writing on the question of how the amount of productive labor available to a nation might be increased, he also asserted that consumption was the "sole end and purpose of production." From this he concluded that "the interests of the producer ought to be attended to only so far as it may be necessary for the promoting of the consumer." The individual in the market, who based his choice solely on price, was the ideal model. This gave Smith a rather static view of

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wealth. Wealth was merely the stock of material goods available at any point in time. In this formulation of wealth, there is no difference between imports and products obtained at home.

From the perspective of a world market-society, there was no need to differentiate between wealth and the ability to create wealth. The location of industry was irrelevant so long as all goods were available for consumption anywhere. However, in a world based on nation-states, where the wealth-creating assets are located becomes a matter of vital importance. Those who have such assets can always produce wealth, which they can trade for an equivalent. Those who do not produce, may not be able to provide that equivalent.

One of Smith's most vocal critics was Friedrich List, who published *The National System of Political Economy* in 1840. He focused on the difference between production and consumption:

> *The causes of wealth* are something totally different from *wealth itself.* A person may possess wealth, i.e., exchangeable value; if, however, he does not possess the power of producing objects of more value than he consumes, he will become poorer. A person may be poor; if he, however, possesses the power of producing a larger amount of valuable articles than he consumes, he becomes rich.
>
> *The power of producing wealth* is therefore infinitely more important than *wealth itself.*

List strongly objected to the notion that a domestic industry should be abandoned simply because imports are, for the moment, cheaper. "Who would be consoled," he asked, "for the loss of an arm by knowing that he had nevertheless bought his shirts 40 per cent cheaper?"

Milton Friedman is well known for his argument that the best of all possible situations would be for Americans to be able to trade pieces of paper (dollars) for foreign imports indefinitely (which is essentially what happens when there is a balance-of-trade deficit). This could not last forever, as the flood of dollars would devalue the currency until it was worthless and no one would accept it as payment. However, the result at that point would be that foreigners would have a pile of paper and Americans would have valuable material goods. The goods would have been obtained "free." But would this really be ideal in the long run?

The enemy is not the 'state'; the enemy is any ideology that attempts to use the state for improper ends

There was once a nation that approximated this situation. Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a supply of real money with which to buy imports—the gold and silver from its mines in Central and South America. As long as the precious metals held out, Spain was able to finance the first world empire and stand as the preeminent power in Europe. Yet, as John A. Garraty states in *Unemployment in History*: "Amidst the Golden Age of Philip II, Spanish beggars and vagrants had crowded the roads and practically taken over certain quarters of the cities." The purchase of imports did not produce employment for Spanish labor. And when the flow of specie proved inadequate, Spain found that it had no economy of its own on which to draw. The precious metals shipped across the Atlantic had gone to stimulate the growth of foreign economies.

The absurd defense of this policy is well represented by Alfonso Nuñez de Castro, writing on the eve of the financial collapse of 1680:

> Let London manufacture those fine fabrics of hers to her heart's content; Holland her chambrays; Florence her cloth; the Indies their beaver and vicuña; Milan her brocades; Italy and Flanders their linens . . . so long as our capital can enjoy them; the only thing it proves is that all nations train journeymen for Madrid and that Madrid is the queen of parliaments, for all the world serves her and she serves nobody.

The similarity of this argument to those of many current free-trade tracts is striking. But in practice, Spanish imports were more than double Spanish exports. Spanish ports were filled with foreign ships (Spain even lost the carrying trade), which off-loaded manufactured goods and on-loaded silver and gold so rapidly that within a few weeks of the docking of galleons from America, precious metals were again scarce within Spain. Historian Jaime Vicens Vives argues that the "decline of the Spanish merchant fleet and the opening of the internal market to foreign goods" produced a "fatal result," which could only have been prevented by the adoption of mercantilist policies. But this would have meant building up Spanish industry, and the anti-capitalist attitudes prevalent in Spain would not allow that thought.

As Spanish specie shipments became inadequate, the government resorted to ever more crushing taxes to raise the funds needed to buy imports. The taxes were crushing because the tax base was so small, owing to the stunted growth of the economy and the absence of a middle class, which industry would have produced. This only drove the economy deeper into crisis. (In the modern parallel, corporations whose plants are closed and workers who are unemployed do not earn income to be taxed, nor do they contribute to the multiplier effect, which increases economic activity elsewhere. There are no profits or flow of savings to aid capital formation. A downward spiral begins.) The Spanish had other problems as well: inflation and price controls; restrictive guilds; and an attitude among the aristocratic elite that business was demeaning. A vigorous mercantilist policy would not have solved all of Spain's problems, just as it will not solve all of America's problems. But whatever a nation's problems, they are rendered worse by the displacement or suppression of domestic industry by foreign competition.

The mercantilists were the first supply-siders. The period of history with which the term "mercantilism" is associated stretches from the end of the sixteenth century to the start of the nineteenth century, though similar policies are evident in all periods. Mercantilism is primarily associated with the nation-building era of early modern Europe, as the economic component of the process that converted the European system from the anarchy of small feudal remnants into the constellation of great powers that came to dominate not only the continent but the entire

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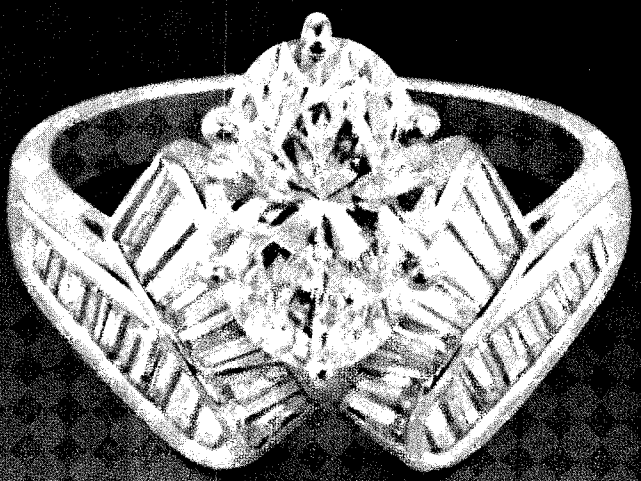

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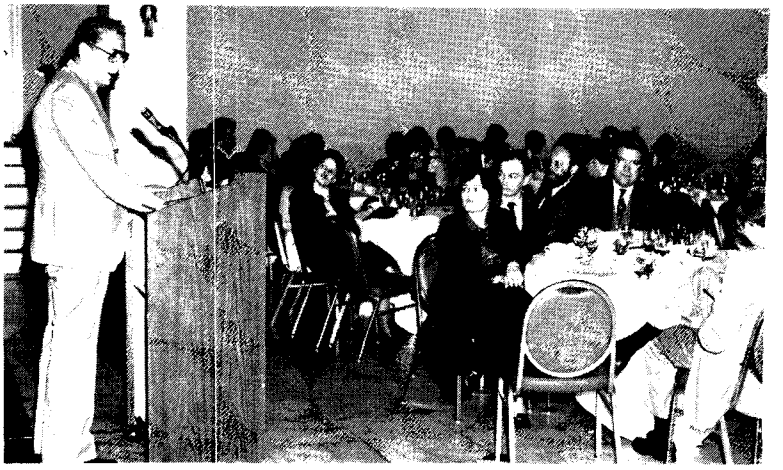

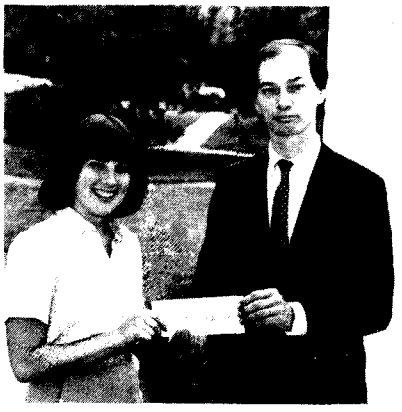

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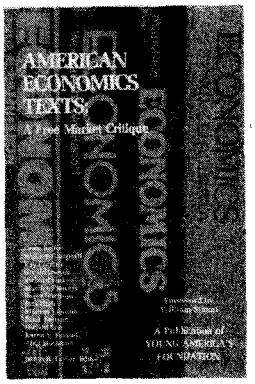

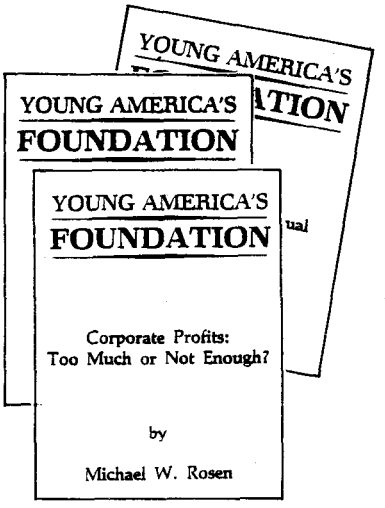

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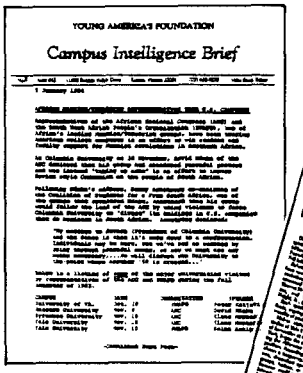
Young America's Foundation publishes books and articles on issues of interest to young Americans on campus. Recent monograph titles have been "Pacifism, An Anti-Christian Philosophy," "Corporate Profits, Too Much or Not Enough?", "The Enemies of Faith Today," and "The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America, A Reappraisal." The Foundation has also published a 280-page critique of the major college economic texts titled, *American Economics Texts, A Free Market Critique.* The Foundation is preparing similar studies in the disciplines of American history and foreign policy.



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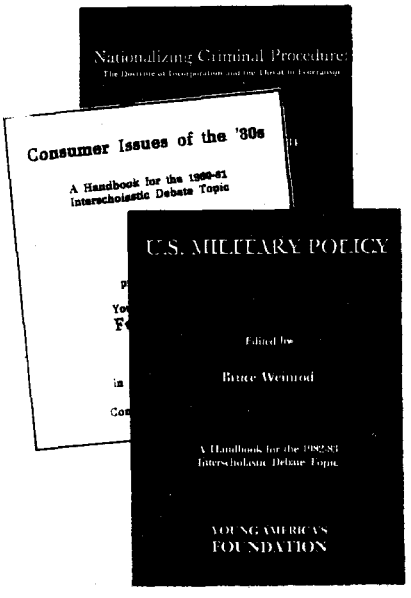
The Foundation monitors the nation's campuses to report on radical and Marxist activities and official college policies that are anti-American or irresponsible. This research is reported in the Foundation's quarterly newsletter, *Libertas,* and in our monthly report, *Campus Intelligence Brief.* Recent reports have focused on major tours of American colleges by European pacifists and Central American Marxists and on the efforts of some college administrations to suppress conservative student publications.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world. It should not be surprising that the methods used to build great nations should be called into play once again to help preserve them.

MERCANTILISM is not a beautifully constructed theory that advocates a single set of policies for all times and places regardless of circumstances. There is no single founding figure to compare with Smith or Marx or Keynes. This is both a blessing and a curse. A curse because ideas that are messy and pragmatic do not recommend themselves to intellectuals. A blessing because it is flexible in practice and adaptable to changing circumstances. It can ignore the false "consistency" of absolutist dogma in regard to method in favor of consistency in pursuit of a goal. Charles Wilson, one of the foremost authorities on mercantilism, has observed that "no body of economic literature was ever more closely related to interest and policy than the writings of the mercantilists. . . . The mercantilists were neither scribblers nor idealists." Robert Gilprin has concluded that the "fundamental tenacity of mercantilism at least suggests that it meets the economic and security needs of particular groups and nations regardless of its intrinsic merits as a scientific theory."

The description of mercantilist thought most often cited is that of Jacob Viner, who listed its four basic tenets:

> 1) Wealth is an absolutely essential means to power, whether for aggression or defense; 2) power is essential or valuable as a means to the acquisition or retention of wealth; 3) wealth and power are each proper ultimate ends of national policy; 4) there is a long-run harmony between these ends, although in particular circumstances it may be necessary for a time to make economic sacrifices in the interest of military security and therefore also of long-run prosperity.

Points one and two are common sense. Point four would have won agreement from Adam Smith, Smith having written that "defense is more important than opulence." Smith endorsed England's central mercantilist policy, the Navigation Acts, on security grounds. His only error on this point, according to one historian of Britain's decline, Correlli Barnett (a strong critic of free trade), was that Smith "could not foresee that national defense would come to depend not just on seamen and naval stores but on total industrial and economic capability." The most controversial point is number three, for it calls for a national policy and a wedding of economics and politics.

Conservatives have developed the same knee-jerk reaction against "government" as the libertarians, with whom they have had an uneasy alliance against socialism. Perhaps the movement of the libertarians to the left on issues of defense and social policy will finally awaken conservatives to the fundamental differences between themselves and the libertarians, so that they can move into their own in economics and start thinking for themselves. In point of fact, the socialist Left has the most to fear from a sound reindustrialization effort, and it knows it. That is why it is trying so hard to control the issue and divert it away from a true reform movement aimed at increasing production. Any movement that focuses attention on production rather than on redistribution undermines the Left. Practical programs that deal with the needs of industry are the enemy of leftist ideology. The Left has built its program on the notion that government and industry are enemies—or at least would be under a leftist regime. A program, based on the lessons of history, which would make government and industry partners in the task of national advancement, uproots the Left's entire foundation.

The charge that all government aid to industry is "socialistic" would have sounded strange to the Founding Fathers, even if the socialist idea had been fully developed at the time. The Founders were well acquainted with mercantilism and the methods used to spur economic development. In fact, one of the motives for the Revolution was that many businessmen did not like the non-industrial role assigned the Colonies within the British imperial system. The most ardent advocate of an American industrialization program was Alexander Hamilton. Historian Richard B. Morris has described Hamilton as an administrative genius, a nationalist, and a conservative, whose "brand of conservatism meant holding on to the tried and proven values of the past, but not standing still." Believing as Hamilton did, wrote Morris, "in a government possessed with energy and initiative, he could scarcely be expected to allow the government to stand inert while the economy stagnated or was stifled by foreign competition." The Treasury Secretary was a firm believer in private enterprise and property rights. Government action was not a substitute for property rights, but a complement. Forrest McDonald, in his biography of Hamilton, wrote:

> While rejecting laissez-faire, however, Hamilton was emphatic in his commitment to private enterprise and the market economy. Primarily this commitment was moral, not economic. Hamilton believed that the greatest benefit of a system of government-encouraged private enterprise was spiritual—the enlargement of the scope of human freedom and the enrichment of the opportunities for human endeavor.

One might add that the freedom and the opportunity were to be reserved for American businessmen, inventors, and workers. Hamilton's plan was to create an environment within which Americans would attain economic success. Far from being seen as an enemy of capitalism, Hamilton was attacked as being too friendly to it.

Thomas Jefferson opposed Hamilton's reports calling for a national bank, support for industry, protectionism, and the funding of the debt to restore the soundness of national credit. This was not because he thought Hamilton's program would fail, but because he feared that it would work. To Jefferson, economic progress along the lines favored by Hamilton could only mean pollution, congestion, and an end to his romantic ideal of an egalitarian democracy based on small farmers and pre-industrial artisans. Jefferson supported free trade because he thought that under the international division of labor the United States was destined to remain an agricultural economy while England and France became the suppliers of manufactured goods. To promote industry was to push America down an "unnatural" path. Writing in 1785 in reply to an inquiry, Jefferson said:

> You ask what I think on the expedience of encouraging our states to be commercial? Were I to indulge in my own theory, I should wish them to practice neither commerce nor navigation, but to stand, with respect to Europe, precisely on the footing of China. We should thus avoid wars and all our citizens would be husbandmen.

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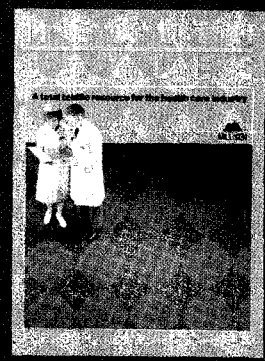

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Jefferson's native South attempted to follow this advice, concentrating on agriculture for export while importing the bulk of its manufactured goods. The South was also the base from which foes of tariffs and internal improvements spoke. The South eventually paid for this, however, when on the outbreak of the Civil War it found itself with an industrial base inferior to the North's. The South had only one ironworks capable of forging artillery in 1861 and did not acquire a second until 1863, and that was funded by government money. In the end, Southern valor could not offset the strength of the Northern economy.

THOUGH IT IS still common to pay homage to Jefferson's idealism, the United States has fortunately tended more to follow along the path advised by Hamilton, at least until recent years.

American conservatives have gotten into the habit over the last half-century of criticizing government intervention in the economy. Most of this criticism has been well founded. But then the government has not been in conservative hands very often since the New Deal. During the period when conservatives seemed to be in permanent exile, a belief grew up that no economic policy could be successful. Now that conservatives have returned to positions of power, their habit of denying authority to government becomes potentially self-defeating. The enemy is not "the state," as some would have it; the enemy is any ideology that attempts to use the state for improper ends. The growth of productive capacity and national power is a proper end within the conservative world view.

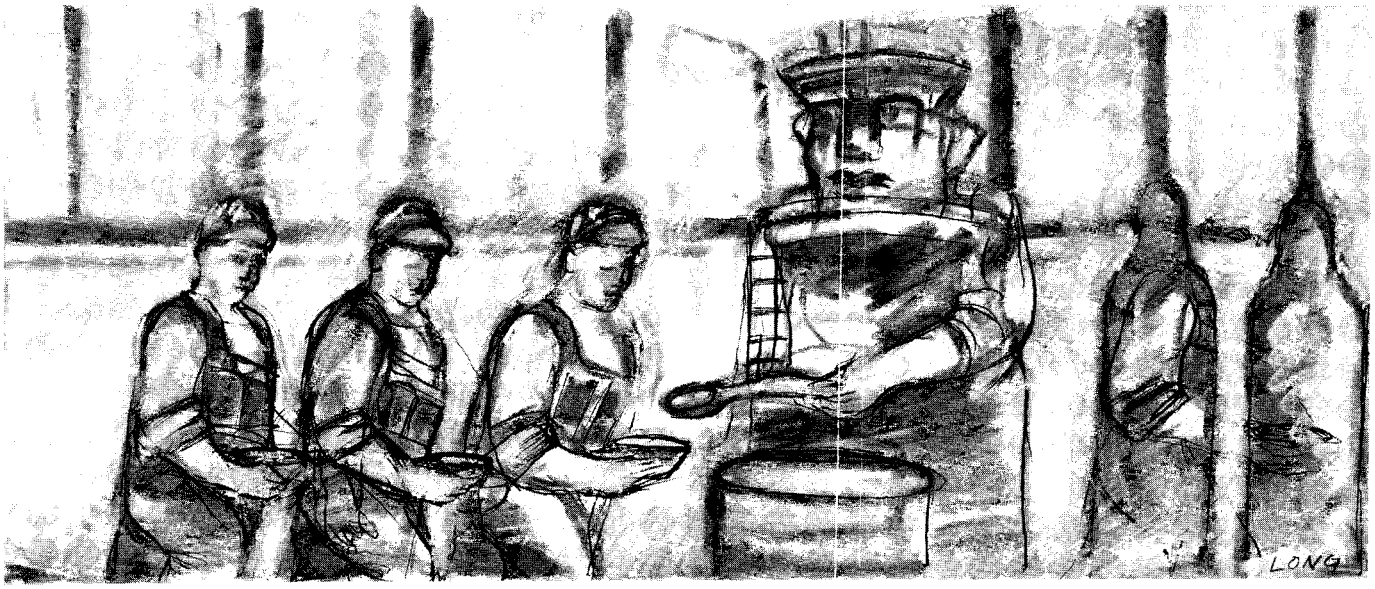
Obviously, there are things governments cannot do very well. They do not, for instance, make very good entrepreneurs. Opponents of industrial policy who argue that officialdom has no particular skill at picking "winners" in the commercial arena are correct. But "winners" in this sense is a concept for businessmen, not strategists. The purpose of a mercantile strategy is to determine the core economic needs of the nation, then create an environment in which entrepreneurs can flourish while fulfilling those needs.

Two critical requirements for such an environment are capital and a market. Supply-side policy has concentrated on the first of these, but more is needed. An oft-made suggestion is to establish a modern version of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The original RFC was founded under Herbert Hoover to combat the Great Depression. The U.S. already has several agencies that make loans or loan guarantees, so the concept is hardly novel. Strategic industries, whether traditional or high-tech, would be given priority, actual disbursement of funds being dependent on an evaluation of the efficiency of the firms involved. The idea is to fund progress, not subsidize obsolescence. The use of any such RFC should be limited; it is not to be considered a replacement for the general capital market. (One use that would disturb the market very little would be to finance compliance with pollution-control targets. The Japanese have had success with this approach.)

But increasing the availability of capital, by whatever means, is insufficient if firms see no market for their product. Business entails enough risks as it is without fear of foreign competition stealing one's market. A degree of protection would be needed to reduce this risk. This would not, as some critics allege, eliminate all competition and lead to monopoly. If the American home market cannot sustain a variety of competitors and vigorous competition, no market can. Nor is protection an absolute bar to foreign firms. They can circumvent tariffs and import quotas simply by establishing production facilities within the United States, "behind" the barriers. That the jobs and the production capacity are located within U.S. borders is the important thing, not the ownership. In fact, since capital is, like all resources, scarce, protection of a major market against imports will attract investment from overseas, to the benefit of the American economy.

A neomercantilist attitude does not commit one to the adoption of any and all protectionist policies. We do not need decrees like Queen Elizabeth's, in 1571, that required everyone over the age of six to own a wool hat. Yet we have policies today that are just as silly.

The aim of neomercantilism is not to stop all trade or foster isolationism or autarky. World trade has more than tripled since 1970, and the U.S. has reaped benefits from this (as well as the problems we have been discussing): The U.S. needs to import cheap raw materials as well as oil and strategic minerals; it needs export markets for the products of both farm and factory; the dollar is still the



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basic world reserve currency. The neomercantilist simply looks at trade the same way the diplomatic or military strategist analyzes matters within his purview. Certain critical industries need to be supported and protected, but the bulk of the economy does not fall into this category. The thriving trade in consumer goods is a matter of indifference. Indeed, it is estimated that over half of the current trade restrictions in the U.S. affect nonessential consumer goods, restrictions created not for strategic reasons but merely to please special interests. And that is not counting the substantial subsidies granted to domestic industries such as agriculture. The neomercantilist no more favors purely special-interest legislation than does the free-trader.

Today's debate is being waged primarily between free-traders who do not see the problem and liberal advocates of an industrial policy that has the wrong solution to the problem. The free-traders are losing, not only in the U.S. but everywhere. Some three-quarters of world trade is managed by policy to some degree. Tariffs, quotas, negotiated limits, state-owned firms and trading companies, cartels, subsidies, domestic-content requirements, and joint ventures abound. Free trade has no power to persuade either the public or national leaders. The assumptions are too unrealistic, the thinking too naïve. If the liberal alternative is to be avoided, conservatives have to abandon free trade and adopt a new, pragmatic approach to questions of trade and industry. If not, business and labor, with nowhere else to turn, will have to cut whatever deal they can with the Left. A neomercantilist approach does not conflict with existing conservative economic policy. Tax cuts; deregulation of domestic industry; incentives for working, saving, and investment; balanced budgets; sound money; and opposition to wasteful social spending are all quite compatible with the reindustrialization effort. Indeed, they are essential to its success.

Some potentially important steps have been taken toward giving the government the capability to carry out a strategic industrial policy. The initiative has come from the Defense Department in response to what Secretary Caspar Weinberger, in his 1983 *Annual Report to the Congress*, termed "the serious decline in our economic base and our leadership in the industrialized world." Stating that "the problems which remain in the defense industry are, in fact, a subset of our overall economic industrial problems," the Secretary outlined a plan to upgrade mobilization capacity and productivity. Three new agencies have been created: the Office of Emergency Planning, the Emergency Mobilization Preparedness Board, and, perhaps most important, the Industrial Task Force, which serves as a link between defense planners and corporate managers. A Defense Impact Modeling System has also been established, which surveys four hundred industries, 163 skilled-labor classifications, and 72 raw-materials groups. This work should be expanded. However, before this can be done, the President and his economic advisors, who have a more libertarian slant than do the national-security planners, will need to be persuaded that government has both the right and the duty to integrate economic factors into a broader national policy.

President Reagan has already shown himself to be somewhat attuned to mercantilist ideas. Though the reasoning seemed too sophisticated for many observers, the President's decision to resume grain sales to the Soviet Union at the same time as restrictions were increased on capital and technology transfers (particularly in regard to the gas-pipeline project) was correct. The export of goods to the Soviet Union helps the American economy more than the Soviet economy, but we do not want to help the Soviets increase their productive capabilities or their export trade. Not all economic activity is equal. It is just a matter of extending these ideas their next few logical steps. The Right is the rational position from which to launch a rebirth of political economy in the national interest. □

John Kenneth Galbraith COMMENTS

I HAVE SOME difficulty with both the argument and the organization of Professor Hawkins's paper, but they do not too seriously obscure either his point or his problem. His point is that performance in the mature industrial economy, even when overall macroeconomic policy is right, is far from optimal. His problem is that this must be corrected by deliberate planning and policy by the government. As one comes to the latter conclusion one can all but see the beads of perspiration on the author's forehead: What an appalling proposition to have to sell to one's fellow conservatives! What damage it could do to one's credentials in the faith! I have substantial sympathy for Professor Hawkins's basic case, and this, no doubt, could make his personal agony even worse.

Professor Hawkins rightly holds that the present recovery—based, one must note, on a greatly relaxed monetary policy and on a level of Keynesian deficit financing that must occasion astonishment on the part of Keynes himself, from wherever he is watching—will still leave a substantial amount of unemployment in the communities that have depended on the older mass-production and process industries. The investment in capital plant that sustains these industries—textiles, automobiles, machine tools, steel, and other metal-fabricating industries, to mention the more important—can move along with the requisite technology to lower-wage countries. The unemployed workers remain behind. From this comes the policy: tariff protection against the resulting inflow of goods; possibly an occasional subsidy (this is not so clear) to offset the competitive advantage of these low-wage producers; and large-scale government financing, along the lines of the old Reconstruction Finance Corporation or the newer proposals of Felix Rohatyn, to cover the investment that private institutions either no longer find attractive or are not sufficiently adept or farsighted to recognize. Let there be no more talk about the miracle of the market: The notion that it is intrinsically and universally benign is an error of libertarians and

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helo !!!!

"On the other hand, the early bird misses the late worm."

The Peculiar Institution

Unelected and serene,
Members of the Fed convene,
Letting later minutes show
How they made the money flow.
From the latest, who can doubt
That we're heading toward a drought?

W. H. von Dreele

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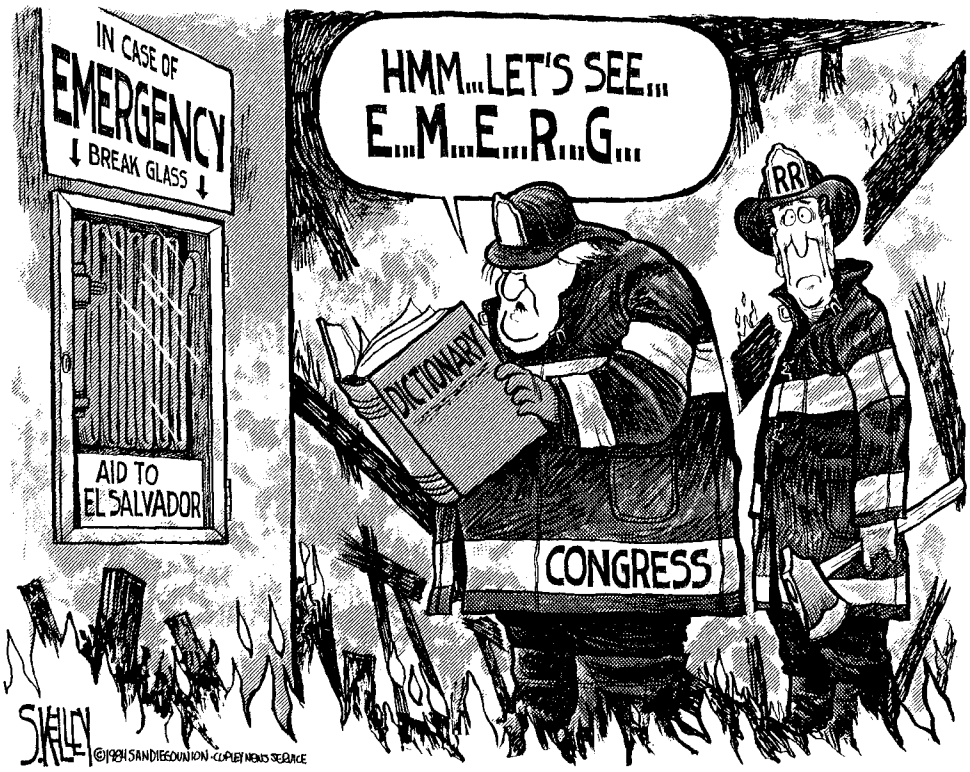

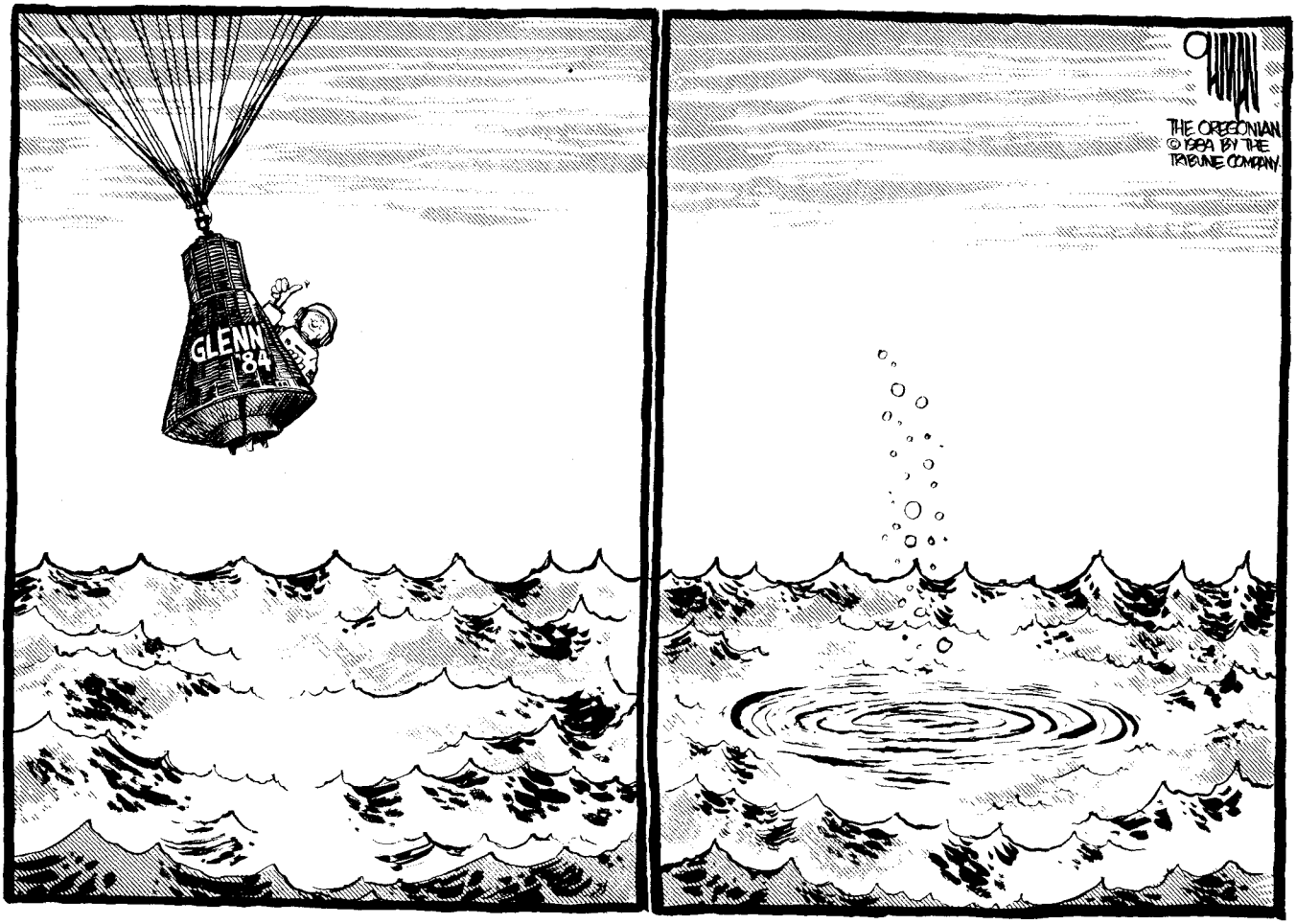

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unduly orthodox conservatives, and it is at least a minor aberration of the Reagan and Regan Administration. One can see why Professor Hawkins is worried about his credentials and the response of his audience; hence his search for precedent and protective cover.

His first effort in that search is not unimaginative. Recognizing that any modern American conservative is always reassured if a precedent can be found in the sufficiently distant past, Professor Hawkins goes back beyond Adam Smith to the mercantilist philosophers and their highly motivated protection of their own markets. If something was right in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, who can think it wrong or radical now? Neomercantilism is the true conservatism.

Republicans talk with infinite tedium about the free market without feeling it necessary to accept its painful aspects in practice

Then, and rather more plausibly, he argues that government intervention—industrial planning, no less—is really an old Republican idea. The Republicans were always the party of the protective tariff; Alexander Hamilton, who promulgated the nation's first industrial policy, was their hero. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was the creation of Herbert Hoover, and its first head was the former Republican Vice President Charles Gates Dawes, who served until that terrible week when he had suddenly to resign and rush to Chicago to negotiate an RFC loan for his own insolvent bank. Professor Hawkins accuses the Reagan Administration of stepping back from this interventionist tradition, and here I am forced to say that he is a trifle unfair. Anyone contemplating the textile quotas, the restraints on steel and automobile imports, the unprecedented subsidy to American farmers, the partial IMF bailout of the banks, and the other bank-rescue operations will not be so persuaded. It has long been the rhetorical genius of American Republicans that they talk eloquently, even righteously, and with infinite tedium about the free market without feeling it necessary to accept its necessarily painful aspects in practice.

Professor Hawkins's vision is far too narrowly focused when he attributes all the problems of the mass-production industries to low-wage competition from abroad. There is also an array of problems associated with the management of our older industries, including the tendency to define excellence in policy as whatever is being done, excellence in personnel as what most resembles those already on the job. Also, the tendency to a proliferation of white-collar and middle-management personnel, a matter to which *Fortune* has recently addressed attention.

In the modern corporation, performance, many hold, is judged in undue measure by recent—the last quarter's—performance, and it is on this, not long-range accomplishment, that management concentrates attention. In the modern conglomerate, also, it is easier to shelve a poor operation than to improve it. Overall there is a deeply persistent tendency for a management to partake of the character of the product that it manufactures. Those of us concerned with various industries in World War II could not but notice that, intellectually speaking, steel men, with notable exceptions, much resembled a billet of steel, coal producers a lump of coal. It is some years since a bright student at the Harvard School of Business Administration has made it his (or her) lifelong ambition to be involved with crude steel.

None of these shortcomings is addressed by Professor Hawkins's remedy. The modern great industrial firm is a highly structured bureaucracy; in looking at the poor performance of our older industry he too obviously shares with other conservatives the unfortunate belief that bureaucratic inefficiency and incompetence are uniquely the problem of the public agency.

I have other and more general difficulties with Professor Hawkins's case. In considering America's performance since World War II in comparison with the achievements of Germany and Japan, he ignores the rather obvious fact that they have been using capital for civilian-product investment while we have been diverting much of ours to industrially sterile military use. Nor can I think that tariff protection is necessary for reasons of national defense. Given the awful nature of modern armaments we will always have enough steel for that, and without (as Professor Milton Friedman once suggested) resorting to a steel stockpile. The author's suggestion that we should sell grain to the Russians but clamp down on transfers of technology exaggerates both the Russians' good nature as buyers and the extent of our technological advantage as compared with other and more willing suppliers.

The political case for a liberal trade policy emerges here as a species of liberal plot. In more obvious fact it is the political interest of the modern international corporation. When a firm is producing goods in different countries and moving components and products from one to another of them, tariffs are in no slight measure a nuisance. And no firm fears foreign competition if it is that competition. Finally, Professor Hawkins is unduly old-fashioned in his preoccupation with manufactures of the traditional kind. Here we are not doing well. But in services, intelligent technology, entertainment, the arts generally, and industries involving high design, our position is far more secure. And these, by any calculation, are the expanding part of the modern economy.

I am far from being at odds with the idea of an industrial policy. The question is what and, above all, how? Professor Hawkins—this may be a tribute to his caution—avoids all of the practical details. But it is these we must have—when, where, and how generously to accord protection, and for what period of time, how, to what, and in what measure to accord financial support to old industries or promising new ones. There is—and again I commend Professor Hawkins—very little to be said for the liberal or the conservative who, in pursuit of firm principle, specifies despair and suffering for other people. But what one does by way of protecting old industry, selecting new industry for financial support, countering the effect of bureaucratic stasis and senility in older industry, or acting against the shuffling of assets as an alternative managerial effort in the modern conglomerate remains for Professor Hawkins's next article. I hope he proceeds to these and like questions—with, above all, a bold and enlightened disregard for his conservative credentials. □

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PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN SPEAKS ABOUT *NATIONAL REVIEW*

(The following are excerpts from the talk given by President Ronald Reagan when he attended the recent party to celebrate the opening of National Review*'s new Washington office.)*

"Today, we celebrate Washington's birthday, and I can't think of a more appropriate occasion to celebrate *National Review*'s heightened profile in the nation's capital. For if George Washington was the father of his country, NR has been the father of the American conservative intellectual movement. And it's only fitting, at a time when conservative issues and philosophy are finally setting the terms of debate in the halls of government, that NR has come to Washington in a big way. . . .

"Finally, I want to say just a word or two about your Editor, Bill Buckley. I've often thought, when I've been faced with memorandums from deep in the bowels of the bureaucracy, what I wouldn't give to have Bill as an interpreter. A fellow comes in, stands in front of your desk, hands you a memorandum, and he stays and waits there while you read it. And so you read. 'Action-oriented orchestration, innovation, inputs generated by escalation of meaningful, indigenous decision-making dialogue, focusing on multi-linked problem complexes, can maximize the vital thrust toward non-alienated and viable urban infrastructure.' I take a chance and say, 'Let's try busing.' And if he walks away, I know I guessed right.

"But I think you know that *National Review* is my favorite magazine. NR isn't my favorite only because it's fought the good fight so long and so well, although that would be reason enough. It's my favorite because it's splendidly written, brilliantly edited, and a pleasure to read.

"In fact, I honestly believe even if I were to suffer from mental illness or convert to liberalism for some other reason, NR would still be my favorite magazine because of its wit and its charm and the intellectual quality of its contents. . . .

"Let me just close by saying a heartfelt thank you to *National Review* for all you've done for the values we share and for sending reinforcements to Washington at just the right moment. I know that your heightened presence here will be an aid and inspiration to all of us in the movement in the years ahead. And just by being here you help make the nation's capital a little less of a puzzle palace and a little more like our town. So thank you. God bless you all."

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Milton Friedman COMMENTS

IN URGING the twentieth-century U.S.A. to adopt seventeenth-century mercantilism, William Hawkins is wrong not because he wants to turn the clock back, but because he wants to turn back to the wrong clock. It is as true today as when Adam Smith wrote in 1776 that

> In every country it always is and must be the interest of the great body of the people to buy whatever they want of those who sell it cheapest. The proposition is so very manifest, that it seems ridiculous to take any pains to prove it; nor could it ever have been called in question, had not the interested sophistry of merchants and manufacturers confounded the common sense of mankind. Their interest is, in this respect, directly opposite to that of the great body of the people.

Hawkins's sophistry may be disinterested, but it is sophistry none the less. In documenting this assertion, I shall neglect Hawkins's appeals to unspecified conservative values, his reliance on supposed "experts," and his failure to spell out just how his brand of neomercantilism would differ from the industrial policies recommended by his favorite whipping boys—the liberals and leftists. Instead, I shall concentrate on two key economic fallacies underlying his article: that trade deficits "lose jobs"; and that the United States cannot compete with "low-wage countries."

1. *"This [an increasing trade deficit] translates into the loss of more than two million jobs domestically."*

Few fallacies are more widespread, or spread more assiduously by Smith's "interested merchants and manufacturers." For example, Philip Caldwell, chairman of the board of Ford Motor Company, in a recent speech: "The projected $100-billion trade deficit will cost some 2.5 million jobs."

We buy foreign goods not with dollars but with Japanese yen, French francs, German marks, etc. Where do we get the foreign currencies? By buying them from institutions or persons who have such currencies and want to trade them for dollars. Why do they want to acquire dollars? To buy American goods and services, to invest in the U.S., or, occasionally, to give away (e.g., as foreign aid). If the U.S. has a trade deficit, that simply means that buyers of dollars are not using all of them to purchase the kinds of U.S. goods and services that are included in the trade figures. If we neglect the minor item of gifts, the counterpart of a trade deficit is a capital surplus—the use of dollars by foreigners to invest in the United States.

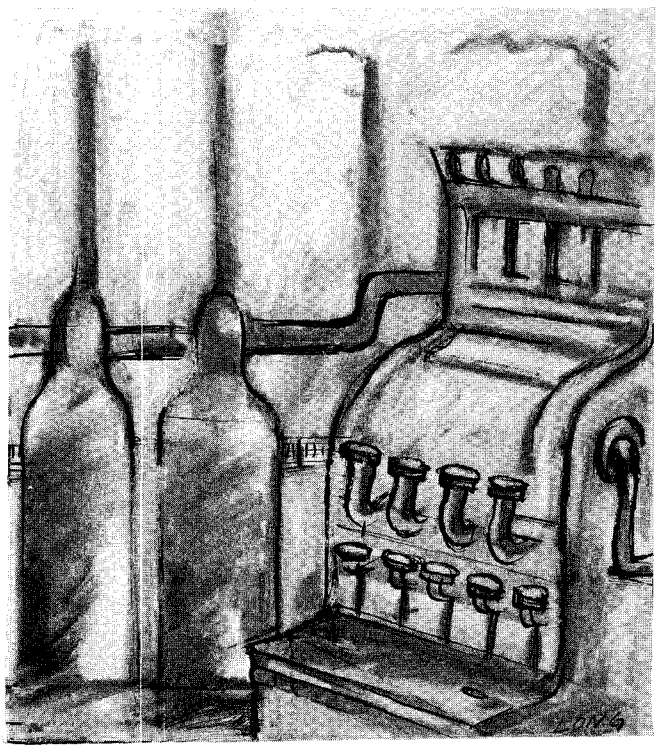
The calculations of "lost jobs" assume that exports "create jobs" in some sense in which the inflow of capital does not. That is simply wrong. In the clearest case, Nissan builds a plant in the U.S. to manufacture trucks. That is not counted as an export. It is part of the capital surplus and hence contributes to the trade deficit. Clearly, however, it "creates jobs" in precisely the same way as does the sale of Boeing aircraft to foreigners. It is purely a statistical convention that the one activity is not counted as an export and the other is.

Most of the capital inflow consists of purchases of securities: government bonds, common stocks, corporate bonds. These help finance the government deficit and the capital expenditures of Ford and other corporations; i.e., they help finance spending on goods and services. In the process, the capital inflows keep interest rates lower than they otherwise would be. How does this "lose jobs"?

To be consistent, Caldwell and Hawkins should deplore the existence of domestic capital markets. If the purchase of a U.S. Government bond by a Frenchman for dollars "loses jobs," why doesn't the purchase of a U.S. Government bond by an American for dollars? What is the difference?

On another level, if the objective is simply to eliminate the trade deficit, then tariffs, quotas, subsidies, etc. are an inefficient and clumsy way to do so. The direct way is to prevent a capital-account surplus: impose a heavy tax on all purchases of assets by foreigners, as Switzerland has done on occasion. That is a highly undesirable measure—but it would do far less harm than Hawkins's neomercantilism (incidentally, what is "neo" about it?)

2. *"Under current conditions, with the Third World possessing an abundant labor pool, . . . high unemployment will be the primary result of global labor competition."* Also, quoted from Wolfgang Hager, "Without trade barriers, rich countries are bound to suck in cheap imports from low-wage countries, destroying the domestic industries that used to make those products. . . . Therefore, unrestricted trade would eventually destroy the economies of all the high-wage, developed countries."



Mr. Friedman is a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution. His most recent book, written with his wife, Rose, is Tyranny of the Status Quo *(Harcourt Brace).*

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Though Hawkins pays lip-service to the notion of "comparative advantage," these quotations demonstrate that he is simply repeating a formula he does not understand.

Wages in Japan are paid in yen. Wages in the United States are paid in dollars. There is no way to make a direct comparison between the two—to call one low and one high—except in terms of the price of the yen in terms of dollars. But that price is determined, as implied in the discussion of the first fallacy, in such a way as to render the Hawkins and Hager quotations false. The price of the yen and other foreign currencies in terms of dollars is at whatever level is necessary to make the number of dollars that holders of foreign currencies want to acquire at that price equal to the dollar value of the foreign currencies that holders of dollars want to acquire at that price.

Neither a surplus nor a deficit is advantageous or disadvantageous. And, in a fundamental sense, neither can exist

The average level of real wages in two countries affects the desire of workers to migrate from one to the other, but it has essentially nothing to do with the volume of trade between them—and that is true with or without tariffs and other interferences with trade. The volume of trade depends on how different the two countries are with respect to the *relative* cost of producing different goods—where, for this purpose, relative cost includes the monetary equivalent of tariffs or other interferences with trade. In the hypothetical but utterly unrealistic case that one country could produce every good and service at half the cost in man-hours, materials, etc. as the other (i.e., at half the "real" cost), there would be no trade between them.

To put the same point in another way, American workers compete against other American workers, not against foreign workers. The opposite impression derives from considering only one side of each complete transaction. For example, one way for U.S. workers to produce an automobile is for California orange growers to produce oranges, sell them to Japan, and use the yen to buy a Japanese automobile. Another way is for Detroit to produce the automobile. Which way is cheaper depends on the relative costs in U.S. dollars of producing oranges and automobiles in the U.S., and on the relative costs in yen of producing oranges and automobiles in Japan. Wages in terms of purchasing power (real wages) may be lower or higher in Japan for both orange-grove workers and automobile workers than in the U.S.; that will not prevent trade.

We can buy foreign goods and services only by acquiring foreign currency; and we can acquire foreign currency only by either selling goods and services abroad or being an attractive place in which to invest—fundamentally, simply a different form of export. True enough, as Hawkins says, "It stands to reason that if a surplus is advantageous, a deficit must be disadvantageous." But two fallacies do not make a truth. Neither a surplus nor a deficit is advantageous or disadvantageous. And, in a fundamental sense, neither can exist. What is advantageous is, in Adam Smith's words, for "the great body of the people to buy whatever they want of those who sell it cheapest," i.e., free trade.

If, with unrestricted trade, "poor . . . countries . . . would eventually destroy the economies of all the high-wage, developed countries," how is it that poor people within a country do not and cannot destroy the economies of high-wage people within a country? Because, in both cases, what matters is comparative, not absolute, advantage. Rich countries can trade with poor countries to the advantage of both, just as rich people can trade with poor people to the advantage of both. Would the rich people in a country—or the poor people—be helped by forbidding them to trade with one another? No more between countries.

Take one specific example much stressed by Hawkins and his fellow socialists: steel, a product that has been sheltered—as an "infant industry"—by tariffs ever since Alexander Hamilton's day. (Steel is the economists' favorite example of infants who never grow up.) In the late 1950s, imports of steel products roughly equaled exports and accounted for less than 5 per cent of total domestic supply. In the next decade, imports climbed to about 14 per cent of total supply, but import protection was not significantly increased. As a result—according to Stephen V. Marks, writing in the January 1984 *Contemporary Policy Issues*—"the ratio of average hourly earnings in steel relative to U.S. manufacturing . . . fell . . . from 140 per cent in 1959 to 126 per cent in 1969." Nevertheless, steel prices rose from 103 per cent of all producer prices in the U.S. to 113 per cent. "Starting in 1969, however, the industry received import protection through a voluntary export-restraint agreement with the European Common Market and Japan. Ever since that time, various forms of protection have either been in effect or under negotiation. Significantly, the ratio of average hourly earnings in steel relative to all U.S. manufacturing moved upward sharply from 124 per cent in 1970 to 157 per cent in 1980. Over the same period, labor productivity in the steel industry decreased relative to all manufacturing." Understandably, the price of steel rose further relative to all producer prices, to about 120 per cent, and so did imports as a percentage of total supply, to between 15 and 20 per cent.

The moral: "Protection" did shelter the steel worker and the steel industry from the competition of other American workers and industries. But protection neither promoted efficiency nor stemmed imports. Workers already receiving higher wages than the average worker managed to increase their advantage still more. And the rise in the relative price of steel eroded the competitive position of such steel-using industries as automobiles. Is this a picture of national benefit? Or of shameful exploitation of consumers (who had to pay higher prices for all products using steel), of persons engaged in export or potential export industries (whose competitive position was reduced by the higher price of the dollar in terms of foreign currencies, as a result of the smaller number of dollars received by foreign steel producers), and of persons engaged in industries using much steel (whose domestic as well as foreign market was eroded by the higher prices they had to pay for steel). And all this for what purpose? To preserve, we are told, the American industrial base! Bad means for a meaningless purpose; and means that are ineffective in achieving the stated purpose. □

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CANADA AFTER TRUDEAU

FOR A YEAR he had reveled in his role as centerpiece of the national guessing game. When he finally announced his retirement as Liberal leader it was on February 29, ensuring that Canadians could only celebrate its anniversary quadrennially.

When Pierre Trudeau burst onto the national scene in 1968, it was as a popular figure who could unify the nation. Fifteen years and numerous disappointments later, he was a reverse force for national unity, hated from sea to sea. A Canadian entering a gathering anywhere in the country could count on establishing instant contact with strangers by making an anti-Trudeau remark. Canadian unity is a fragile thing, and Trudeauphobia has recently been its glue.

Apart from a few loyalists, the only mourners after the resignation were Tory strategists. They know their party's huge Gallup lead is due more to Trudeau than to public confidence in the ambiguous agglomeration that persists in styling itself "Progressive-Conservative." Give the Liberals an attractive, bilingual new leader not tarred with the Trudeau brush, and Tory confidence becomes nail-biting anxiety.

Just such a man exists in the person of John Turner, the brightest Anglo-Canadian star in the first Trudeau government, who jumped ship in time to avoid the fallout from Trudeau's ill-starred venture into wage and price controls.

Although formally eschewing politics, Turner has kept a high profile, becoming leader-in-waiting, receiving delegations, earning returns from a lucrative Toronto law practice, and building a national organization. When, as he is expected to, he formally announces his candidacy for the leadership, the job will be his with little more difficulty than Teddy Kennedy experienced in claiming a Massachusetts Senate seat. There will, of course, be the tedium of a leadership convention to endure, but his opponents are Trudeau cabinet ministers, who range from the charmingly inept to the blindly bland.

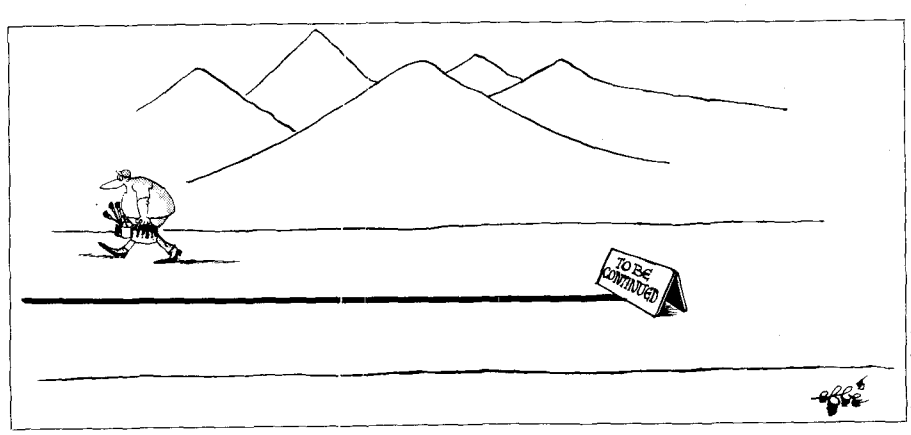
TRUDEAU LEAVES his successor an economy staggering under mountainous deficits and record unemployment. Inflation remains above 5 per cent despite a recession that was the worst experienced by any member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The National Energy Program, which was going to drive out American imperialists and finance an orgy of social programs, succeeded only in cutting oil and gas exploration by more than half, thereby crippling the one domestic industry still displaying real dynamism. Every major East Coast fish-processing company is in financial difficulties or outright bankruptcy. The U.S. economic recovery was starting to improve things for some of the hardest-hit sectors of the Canadian economy, but a revival of kamikaze unionism threatens to end the recovery before it gains steam.

The Tories, under their new leader, Brian Mulroney, have chosen to avoid policy commitments; they are seeking public endorsement as the alternative to the discredited Liberals, rather than for a coherent program of their own. This worked for a time, but the Liberals have recently been forcing the Tories to take stands on contentious issues, ranging from French language rights in Manitoba to the right of doctors to "extra bill" under Medicare.

Although the Manitoba question involved pitting the national party against the provincial Tories, Mulroney surprised the Liberals by standing up for fair treatment of the French minority. On Medicare, his agreement to back the Liberals' new intrusion into the medical profession was generally seen as being shrewd politically among those who think doctor-bashing is a vote-grabber.

The issue-barren Tories are in danger of becoming a national joke. They could not even formulate a policy on Grenada, despite their having sent a fact-finding mission that included the sensible Edmonton MP David Kilgour. In seeking to offend nobody, the Tories may end up as a gaseous blur, to be blown away once John Turner grabs the reins in forthright fashion.

There is one consolation: Whoever leads the next government, it has to be an improvement on Trudeau. Canada's worst days are over. Past perfectly awful, present indefinite, future definitely better. □



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KULTURKAMPF IN FRANCE

FROM THE early 1870s to the middle 1880s, Germany's imperial government under Otto von Bismarck clashed repeatedly with the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church over the control of educational and ecclesiastical appointments. Perhaps the most enduring reminder we have of the confrontation is the word *Kulturkampf* ("fight for culture"), which was coined by Rudolf Virchow, a supporter of Bismarck's, to describe the struggle.

Catholics accounted for slightly more than one-third of the total population of Germany, but they were considered leaderless and backward—in short, no match for the Iron Chancellor. But the German Catholics reacted courageously, and, aided by the rise of socialism on the Left, to which Bismarck was forced to turn a large part of his attention, Germany's two Catholic parties were able to gain a key position in the Reichstag in Berlin. In the end, the Church in Germany survived the struggle; whereas Bismarck was eventually dismissed by Wilhelm II.

In France today the Socialist government of François Mitterrand is heading toward a *Kulturkampf* of its own. During his election campaign in 1981, Mitterrand promised the French people "*des écoles laïques et uniques*" (secular and uniform schools). Alain Savary, Mitterrand's Minister of Education, has been assigned the unpleasant task of actually fulfilling his chief's campaign promise.

Savary's proposed bill would bring the budgets of private schools under the control of regional bodies and also would limit the number of private-school teachers, as well as require them to have civil-servant status. Savary also hopes to "democratize" the schools by giving janitors as much say in running the schools as professors. To be sure, his "democratization" won't extend to every level of schooling; the great graduate schools—the Ecole Polytechnique, the Ecole Normale Supérieure, the Ecole Nationale d'Administration—won't be included in the democratizations because the protests would have been too loud. But the universities will be affected, as well as the *écoles libres* (independent schools). In the case of the former, the government should be able to ride out the storm of protests; but in the case of the latter, it may have overreached itself.

More than two million French children are taught in the *écoles libres*. Though most of these schools are Catholic, they still receive state support. The wall of separation between church and state in France, made final in 1905, has been crumbling over the years and doesn't compare with the wall of separation in the United States.

In France, Catholicism is strongly alive in the far north, the east, the west, and parts of the south; it is weak in the center, especially in Paris. Yet Catholic *écoles libres* exist almost everywhere for the simple reason that they are better than the state-run schools; they have higher intellectual standards, impose more discipline, and are considered more prestigious. Many parents, though lukewarm in their religious convictions (or, sometimes, not Catholic at all), prefer to send their children to them.

The *écoles libres* have been able to maintain their autonomy even though, since the early 1950s, they have received indirect state aid. Parents who send their children to *écoles libres* receive a check from the government equal to the per capita cost of educating a student in the state-run schools, plus 2 per cent, but the checks are cashable only by the schools—a French voucher plan.

To a genuine egalitarian, it goes without saying, these schools are "sectarian" and "elitist," and Mitterrand played on this theme during his election campaign. What Mitterrand seems to have forgotten is how hard the Catholics fought for their schools in the early 1950s, when they actually threatened the government with the use of force. In the very religious west of France, church bells were rung furiously, as they were in the old days in times of war and rebellion.

It hasn't reached that stage yet, but there is a lot of general opposition to the Mitterrand government. Part of it can be attributed to the innate anarchism of the French; part to disillusionment with the Socialists and their Communist allies. Given the government's low standing, it seems unlikely that Mitterrand will persist in a fight that is increasingly unpopular.

THERE WAS a mass demonstration in Versailles, with at least half a million participants, attended by Jacques Chirac (the mayor of Paris) and Mme. Giscard d'Estaing, and demonstrations have taken place in Lyons, Lille, Rennes, and Bordeaux. More is at stake than the fate of religious schools. Many Frenchmen feel outraged because they sense that Savary's "democratization" is one part of a strategy directed against the pluralistic character of their country and their spirit.

Mitterrand capitalized on the French tendency toward egalitarianism to win the presidency (aided by the split in the Right, with Chirac challenging Giscard d'Estaing), but there has always been a strong countercurrent in France, especially in the realm of intellect and art.

Already many are looking toward the 1986 parliamentary elections. It could easily happen that the Right will win control of the General Assembly, while the presidency will be held by a leftist with two years remaining in his own term. If, under those circumstances, Mitterrand chose not to step down—or to change his political views (he has done it before)—France could find itself facing far more than a *Kulturkampf*. □

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RELIGION AND LABOR

THERE IS AN unfortunate tendency in conservative circles to think ill of labor unions. This tendency will no doubt be aggravated in 1984 because the AFL-CIO under the masterful Lane Kirkland is so strenuously supporting Walter Mondale and so strongly opposed to Ronald Reagan. Yet to give in to this tendency would be a mistake.

Laboring people tend to be quite "liberal" on matters affecting the labor unions, their jobs, their paychecks, and their security. Well they should be. But they tend also to be family people, oriented toward "conservative" social and moral values, and profoundly realistic both about power politics in the world and about the deceptive illusions of totalitarian ideologies. In foreign policy, I would trust labor-union leaders ahead of bankers 99 per cent of the time.

It is possible, indeed, that one contribution Jewish and Catholic intellectuals, in particular, bring to conservative politics is a deep respect for labor. This is true of some Protestants, too. Yet there is a deep tendency in Protestant cultures of a certain sort to value the "individual" so highly—and to reject even the suspicion of "collectivism"—that labor unions are made to seem somehow foreign.

In 1891, Pope Leo XIII came close, in his preparation for issuing his great encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, to condemning Catholic participation in the labor unions of the North Atlantic nations, since they were then often dominated by the anti-religious tendencies of Continental socialists and Communists. This was not true in Great Britain, where the Methodists were in the forefront of labor, especially in Wales. It was emphatically not true in the United States, where the Catholic Knights of Labor kept the American Catholic Church in close and living contact with labor. One of the great acts of Baltimore's Cardinal Gibbons was to encourage Leo XIII to speak affirmatively of the labor movement, which the Pope emphatically did.

The Catholic and the Jewish traditions, as the great Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr often observed, have a stronger and more immediate sense of the communitarian nature of human life than the Protestant tradition. For one thing, Catholics and Jews for a variety of historical reasons have learned to trust the family more than any other institution. Under various persecutions or foreign occupations, many of them, too, have developed a strong sense of peoplehood—a recognition that the good of the individual rises or falls with the good of the whole people.

This instinct is not the same thing as collectivism; it includes a very strong love for individual opportunity and individual merit, and strong emotional resistance to the use of quotas and group entitlements. Has no one noticed that the much-defamed but immensely admirable panel of members added by President Reagan to the Civil Rights Commission is disproportionately Jewish and Catholic?

Common Goals

UNEMPLOYMENT is a profound emotional as well as financial blow to family-centered peoples. It knocks all family financial planning and all dreams of improvement for parents and children to smithereens, and it seems so unfairly unrelated to personal merit. It violates one's fundamental faith in the nation and its values. One must recognize clearly that unemployment —especially in the highly industrialized states, where Jews and Catholics tend to be concentrated—is *morally* repulsive, at far deeper levels than merely economic thinking reveals.

Conservative thinkers of a literary bent, with few exceptions (Robert Nisbet is a towering example), tend not to take labor into account when they speak of the "organic connectedness" of life and decry many of the atomizing forces of modernity. And one of the other powerful streams of conservative thought, more favorable to capitalism, seems to grasp far more quickly the glory and the risks of venturesome investors and entrepreneurs than the hazards of labor.

This is a mistake. The spirit of any political economy is no stronger than the sense among its workers of security, satisfaction, loyalty, and commitment to work of high quality. Conservative thinkers have every possible motivation—except historical tendency —to give more thought and effort to the world view of laborers. Surely, on the "social issues," conservatives of today are closer to labor than is the "new class" of publicists that has become so powerful in the Democratic Party. Finally, in their commitment to economic growth and a competitive international economy, conservatives and labor have much in common.

President Reagan made some very large mistakes in the opening year of his Administration in losing the contact with labor he had gained in his 1980 campaign. And there are not enough conservative thinkers paying attention to labor and coming to labor's aid and defense. Several conservative publicists —Pat Buchanan especially, Bill Gavin, the somewhat more erratic Kevin Phillips, and even Richard Viguerie—make a point of valuing "Joe Sixpack" and the view from the corner bar. But there are not enough such. A conservative movement without labor, including labor unions, is a ship without a hull, a plane without engines, an auto without "Made in U.S.A."

Conservatives facing labor need to "get religion" quick. Nothing is better for workers than to have both liberals and conservatives vying to include them; and that would be good for the soul of the nation, too. □

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GOOD PLOT, BAD CHARACTERS

Joseph Sobran

The Time of the Assassins, by Claire Sterling
Holt, Rinehart, 264 pp., $14.95

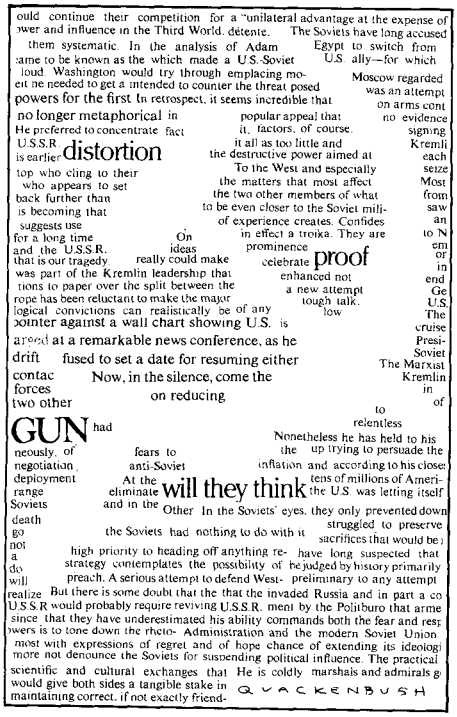
IN 1963 the President of the United States was murdered by a Communist. From that day on, the American opinion establishment has shrunk from describing the event as I have just done: "Lone gunman" is the preferred term, encouraging us as it does to interpret Lee Harvey Oswald's act as random, unrelated either to his ideology or to any possible ties he might have had with the USSR and Cuba.

The Soviets, even if they had nothing to do with Oswald's decision to kill Kennedy, must have been astonished. Here was a golden opportunity for anti-Communist propaganda, not to mention the dread "new era of McCarthyism" the Left is forever predicting. Yet nothing of the kind happened. Liberalism played down Oswald's Communism with unanimous resolution. Imagine the extrapolations that would have been made had Oswald been a card-carrying Republican. After all, John Kennedy himself had warned that anti-Communism (as embodied in the John Birch Society) might be a greater danger to this nation than Communism. When the Soviets killed the head of the Birch Society last year, liberals were quick to make the least of it.

This pattern of seeing no evil where the evil empire is concerned may have convinced the Soviets that they would get plenty of cooperative response in the West if they were to mount a plot against Pope John Paul II. If so, they were not disappointed. I was in Rome less than a year after John Paul was shot, and Vatican insiders freely told me that the shooting had all the earmarks of a KGB operation. Yet the Western press had not pursued the obvious clues. (The Soviet "press" was less restrained: Having regularly denounced the Polish Pope as a CIA flunky, it immediately charged the CIA with having tried to kill him.) I wrote a column from Rome on the subject, hoping my pebble would begin an avalanche of belated attention, but it was several months before the American media began picking up the story; and some of them, notably the *New York Times*, seemed to pick it up only under duress, and only for the purpose of refuting the findings of those who found footprints leading toward the Kremlin.

In *The Time of the Assassins*, Claire Sterling tells two consecutive and equally gripping stories. The first takes us through the labyrinth of the Turkish-Bulgarian underworld of organized crime and political terrorism: though, as she observes, it is inaccurate to describe the purposeful assassination of a Western leader as an act of "terrorism," as so many have done. The term "terrorist," in this context, serves the same function as "lone gunman," minimizing the nexus of motive and conspiracy behind the event, depriving it of its obvious rationality. But I anticipate. Miss Sterling's first story is a memoir of her investigative work in tracing the connection between the Bulgarian secret police, a KGB affiliate, and Mehmet Ali Agca. The plot alone is worth the price of the book. There are also interesting glimpses of Agca's family and of the Turkish immigrant community in West Germany, a community so large and so alien that the Germans have given up seriously trying to keep records of it—a fact convenient to the large numbers of Turkish political terrorists of various stripes.

But the more remarkable story is that of the Western response. The *Times* was quick to promote the predictable liberal party line: "Police are convinced, according to government sources, that Mr. Agca acted alone." This was two days after the event, when *La Stampa* of Turin was quoting government sources *by name* to the contrary. Joseph Kraft, that enemy of ethnic and religious stereotype, laid the shooting to the charge of "turbulent Islamic society, pregnant with nasty surprises." The *Los Angeles Times* wrote Agca off as a "known crazy



M. D. Aeschliman is the author of The Restitution of Man: C. S. Lewis and the Case against Scientism, *published last year by Eerdmans.*

Orley Ashenfelter is a professor of economics and director of the Industrial Relations Section at Princeton University.

James Hitchcock's most recent book is The New Enthusiasts and What They Are Doing to the Catholic Church, *published by the Thomas More Press.*

Eric J. Sundquist is an associate professor of English at the University of California at Berkeley.

Timothy J. Wheeler, a long-time NR *contributor, lives in Indiana.*

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. . . too unstable to be included in an assassination plot, let alone be trusted to do the shooting." Agca was in fact cool, quick, and rational.

Even worse was the official response of Western governments. A Whitehall functionary dismissed Agca's own confession as an attempt to get himself released from jail. (Not bloody likely, guvnor.) A CIA deputy director in Rome, far from cooperating with Italian officials, told the Interior Minister: "You have no proof." Ronald Reagan's press secretary refused to comment on the case, or to look into it any further, and, says Miss Sterling, "Where the White House led, makers of public opinion—for once—followed." So much for the "adversary press."

So the Italian authorities who built the case against the Soviets' Bulgarian servitors were swimming against strong currents. When they announced their preliminary findings, "a political hurricane of extraordinary fury burst upon the West." And as the Soviets raged, the *New York Times* made editorial excuses for them *on the assumption that they had indeed instigated the shooting of John Paul.* Ironically, an Italian Communist newspaper at the same time was condemning the Soviets roundly.

Only a week before he was shot, the Pope had mystified his Swiss Guards at his morning Mass by saying, "Let us pray that the Lord will keep violence and fanaticism far from the Vatican's walls." He seems to have been tipped off by French intelligence. On the day of the shooting Italian intelligence noted unusually heavy traffic in coded messages between the Bulgarians and the Soviets.

Like Whittaker Chambers, Agca lost his credibility in liberal eyes by deciding to tell the truth. And even nonliberals behaved as if the West somehow could not afford, or simply did not dare, to believe his story. When Miss Sterling confirmed the Soviet link in a *Reader's Digest* article, all the hottest rhetoric came from the Soviet side. The peripatetic Wilfred Burchett, writing in a Bulgarian publication, called her "the would-be twentieth-century annihilator of the Bulgarian people." Again, leading Western opinion-makers missed the opportunity to extrapolate from violent words—slanderous words, words with no relation to reality—to a disposition toward violent deeds.

Pardon my McCarthyism, but Communism would get nowhere without liberalism, its indispensable adjunct. Not to espouse the sort of conspiracy theory our shiftier citizens are forever mocking, I nonetheless insist that the whole pattern of liberal behavior is governed by the purpose of protecting Communism. The motive, the degree of consciousness may be mysterious, but the pattern is there, as *The Time of the Assassins* vividly attests. It's like—oh, I don't know—a beehive, or something. □

FINALLY EXONERATED

D. Keith Mano

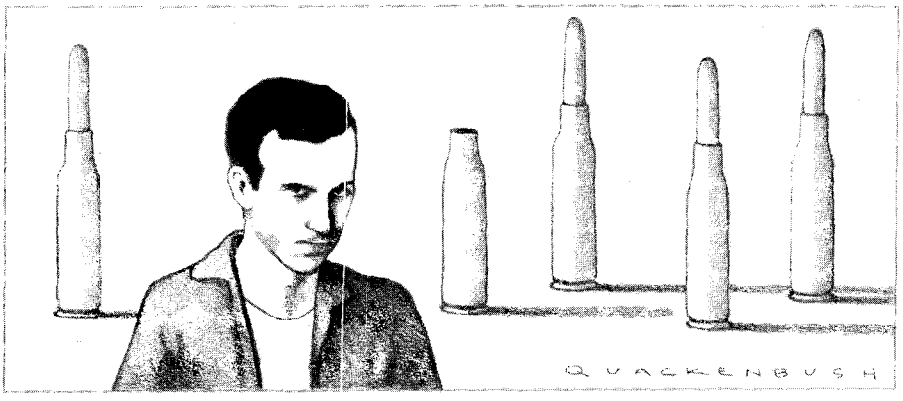
Oswald's Game, by Jean Davison
Norton, 343 pp., $17.95

IT IS A housewife moment: Monday, October 14, 1963. The slow post-weekend afternoon twitches like a dreaming cat. Three or four women have coffee together in suburban Irving, Texas. Two P.M. now, I'd say: their children not yet home from school. Sun tea might be brewing out on the patio. Kitchen Tupperware pops open. The hostess has just watered her coleus. One of these women, Marina, is pregnant. Sugar, Marina? Pork chops are put in the sink to defrost. Someone will swallow a water pill. Marina expresses mild exasperation: her husband, Lee Harvey, can't find work. Another woman, nameless, suggests that he try the place where her brother has a job. Which place is that? Oh, you know, what do they call it?—the Texas School Book Depository. Who'd like this last brownie here?

And that, more or less, is the sort of conspiring—unstructured, commonplace, casual, fluky—that brought about JFK's assassination. No dark, sensational music underneath. Just the housekeeping voices of women.

Jean Davison has pot-shot an entire genre: those JFK-assassination conspiracy books, so prevalent they'd become almost machine-washable. Through her 13-year investigation, with Tensor-lamp prose, Miss Davison has pin-spotted Oswald the arrogant, sneaking, driven, sociopathic, left-wing loner. *Oswald's Game* is a retroactive (and totally convincing) prosecution. Self-taught Marxist from age 16. Defector to Russia. Pro-Castro activist. Shifty intelligence, repressed rage, megalomania, lust for recognition. Most of all: rejection by the very people he hoped to impress—Russian, American, and Cuban Communists. (They knew a defective flue when they met one.) This was the same man, we forget, who near-missed right-wing General Edwin Walker with one Mannlicher rifle bullet. From adolescence onward Oswald was a falling tile that had begun to ungrout itself. He probably would have killed someone—though probably *not* JFK. Up until September 1963 Oswald thought well of the President. His act, ultimately, was a left-wing initiation rite. A proof of his *seriousness.* And he had that box-seat Book Depository window.

But, in catastrophe, we require—will even custom-fit—moral significance. "When Robert Kennedy told his brother's widow, Jacqueline, that Oswald was a Communist, her reaction was, 'Oh, my God but that's absurd . . . It even robs his death of any meaning.' " Yet the event wasn't so absurd after all. In fact JFK paid stiff poll tax, as no President before him had, for a foreign-policy screw-up: the Bay of Pigs go/no-go. Castro, by 1963, had heard about Rube Goldberg CIA plotting against his life. (JFK, though never openly acquiescent, took a sort of mute, "Who will free



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me from this turbulent Communist?" stance.) On September 7 Castro said, "United States leaders should think that if they are aiding terrorist plans to eliminate Cuban leaders, they themselves will not be safe." Oswald most certainly read that AP interview. By September 23 he had left for Mexico to secure a Cuban visa—he was volunteering his ex-Marine services in defense of Castro. But the Cubans thought Oswald "a wild man" and refused him entrance. Oswald came back, frustrated, to prove himself, to do some turbulent freeing of his own. The irony is: had Kennedy bitten the bullet in 1961 at the Bay of Pigs, he might not have been bitten by the bullet in 1963.

Oswald acted alone. It is an American m.o. after all. McKinley, Roosevelt, King, RFK, Wallace, Reagan: what twentieth-century domestic assassination (successful or botched) was a joint-stock enterprise? Not one. In JFK's case the enduring puzzlement (opportunistic liberal paranoia aside) lay with Jack Ruby—another reject loner. Had Oswald lived—to bore us with his dreary, obsessive, one-cell Marxist mind—there would have been no Mark Lane or Jim Garrison. Imagine, say, Hinckley shot dead after killing Reagan. Would America have accepted, good Lord, *Jodie Foster* as sufficient cause? No Pershing missiles in Europe, no economic recovery, no Grenada because of a *film nymphet*? Do you really expect us to swallow that whole? In fact Oswald resembled that Rubin-Boudin-Rudd-Hoffman germ strain that infected us soon after: self-promotive, leftist, criminal, assassins of the national character at least.

But, under it all, there was also a social bias. You can pick this up in Jackie's class-conscious statement. Oswald wasn't *good* enough, *big* enough to destroy (intimacy that) an American semi-legend. JFK should've been shot by, oh, David Rockefeller in person. Lee Harvey Oswald? Why you couldn't even invite him to a Warhol retrospective at the White House. Yet this is a nation of small-business entrepreneurs: upwardly mobile, gate-crashing. Good to know—I speak with my cheek full of tongue—an Oswald can achieve renown without syndicate sponsorship and pull. Isn't that what democracy stands for: no special privilege?

But do read *Oswald's Game*. In it we are all, finally, exonerated. □

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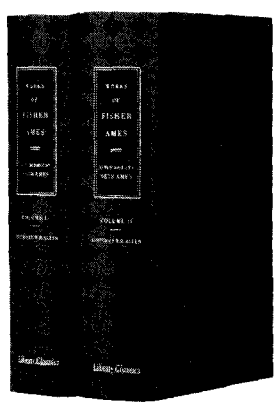

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FERTILE SPIRIT OF DOUBT

James Hitchcock

The Committed Observer, by Raymond Aron: Conversations with Jean-Louis Missika and Dominique Wolton
Regnery Gateway, 292 pp., $17

FOR ALMOST fifty years, Raymond Aron, who died in 1983, personified the spirit of humane, courageous, rational independence in French intellectual life, patiently staking out positions most of which history has judged to be "correct," but which at the time earned him much obloquy from his fellow intellectuals, especially from his classmate at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Jean-Paul Sartre. Thus while a student in Germany in the early 1930s, Aron already perceived the ominous nature of Nazism, even as the leading French politicians (and perhaps most of the nation) thought a peaceful understanding with Hitler was possible. In 1940, Aron went to London to join Charles de Gaulle, although, as he tells his interviewers here, Marshal Pétain probably embodied the sentiments of most Frenchmen at the time.

The central segment of Aron's intellectual career was his long postwar service with *Le Figaro*, where he took a decidedly unfashionable anti-Soviet and even pro-American line and resolutely refused to be swept up by the dominant Sartrean claim that the future of humanity lay with the "socialist" regimes. Aron also, however, angered many on the Right, first by his opposition to France's attempts to regain Indochina after World War II, then by his support for Algerian independence. Despite his generally pro-American stance, he was critical of American involvement in Vietnam, although judging it less objectionable than the earlier French involvement, because the Americans were not primarily self-interested.

Elected to the faculty of the Sorbonne in middle age, he resigned early in 1968, just before the upheavals of that year which led to de Gaulle's resignation. Aron denounced the irresponsible destructiveness of the students, earning abuse from Sartre and others that can scarcely be matched in modern intellectual discourse.

Aron—whose recorded conversations (originally for television), collected in this book, make him seem a serene and humane man with a sense of proportion and humor—lived long enough to see the vindication of his principled anti-leftism and a major change in attitude on the part of French intellectuals, occasioned as much as anything by the writings of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

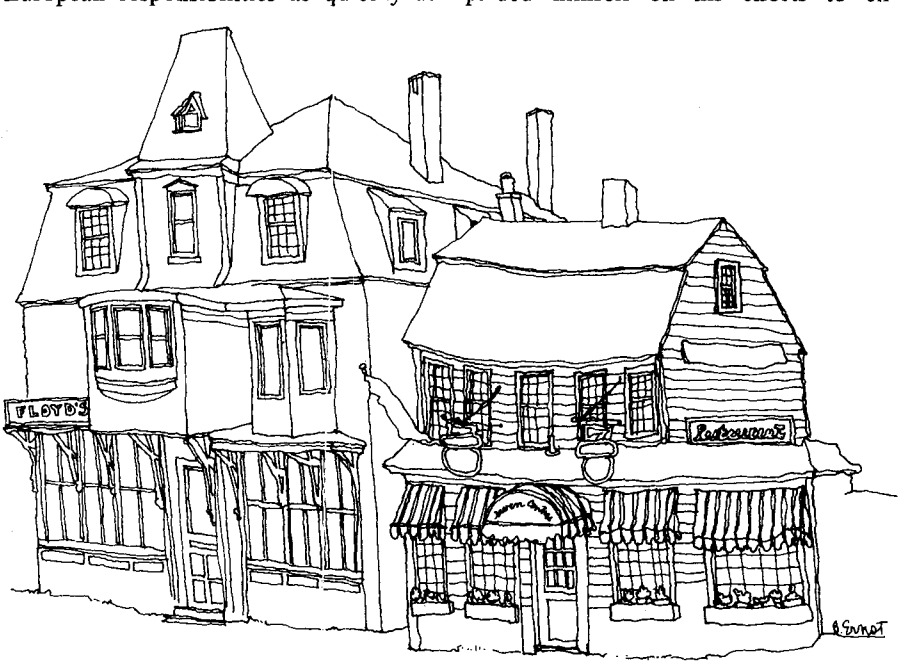
Having been "right" so often when it was costly, Aron could have been content merely to accept the accolades of history. But it was characteristic of both his intellectual and his moral qualities that he insisted on touching up the finished pictures. Thus he argued that the 1938 Munich agreement may have been wise after all, because war might have resulted from a British-French "hard line," and the two countries were not prepared for war in that year.

So also he argued that the rapid French defeat of 1940 was by no means an unmitigated disaster, because France, having suffered so many casualties in 1914-18, might not have been able to survive similar losses in World War II. He viewed the early Vichy position as not unreasonable or dishonorable, although he thought the government should eventually have gone to North Africa to preserve some semblance of independence.

He did not regard the Yalta agreements as a conscious concession to the Soviets by the West so much as the product of a certain naïveté, as well as of an American desire to be quit of European responsibilities as quickly as possible. Interestingly, he believed the French people in 1945 were in some ways more favorably disposed to the Soviets than to the Americans, partly because the American effort to liberate France had inevitably involved a good deal of destruction, and also because the Americans had suffered far fewer casualties than the Soviets.

Aron's careful and highly rational approach to politics consistently yielded shrewd judgments of the kind that mere ideologues cannot generate. For example, he argued that the ideology of Nazism was unsuited to world conquest because of its blunt proclamations of racial superiority, whereas Communist claims about the equality of all peoples provide just the right cover for the new imperialism. Aron reminds his interviewers, both of whom are of the student generation of 1968, that pro-Soviet intellectuals like Sartre were indeed aware of the existence of the Gulag. Their support for international Communism did not arise from ignorance but from an ideological commitment to the idea of a better future, a commitment which required that all doubts be thrust aside.

Aron's own position, through thick and thin, remained that of the rational, empirically minded, skeptical humanist, always asking inconvenient questions. (He took this position vis-à-vis his own party as well, as he points out here.) The philosopher Merleau-Ponty, also a schoolmate of Aron, once argued that without socialism history would have no meaning. Aron prided himself on his efforts to ex-



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tract that meaning, painstakingly, step by step.

Yet on the practical level he did see the necessity of making a choice—post-war history required an affirmation either of international Communism or of Western liberal democracy, which he defended in Churchill's familiar terms as the least bad of all systems. But, having made that choice, Aron placed himself further outside the French intellectual pale by arguing that it was also necessary to be pro-American. Thus he strongly supported the United States' involvement in Korea (although he regarded our intervention in Vietnam as ill-conceived), and he saw Soviet-American arms negotiations as mainly beneficial to the Soviets. Pressed by his increasingly exasperated young interviewers, he insists that the free market too must be defended, as an essential condition for political liberty.

Yet there remain some nagging doubts about Aron. Repeatedly his interviewers accuse him of coldness and even of a certain indifference as he confronted the passionate issues of the day. Although one sympathizes with Aron's ironic response—that in the end intelligence is a more useful quality—they have a certain point. In a sense Aron's humanism, rationality, and lack of dogmatism can be seen as negative qualities. Aron was correct in amusedly rejecting Sartre's bitter charge that he never experienced self-doubt. Indeed, he points out, "Aronian skepticism" was a familiar epithet within the Gaullist movement. What this meant was—as the interviewers observe—that, even after committing himself to a position, he always seemed to remain uneasy, "out of phase" with his own commitments. However, Aron had sharpened his skepticism against oppressive realities that cried out for demythologizing. The final words of the interview express his hope that he has at least communicated to his interlocutors "the fertile spirit of doubt."

One of his famous later books is called *In Defense of Decadent Europe*, a work predicated on the idea that the West has lost much of its spirit, self-confidence, and sense of commitment. Aron obviously regretted this, yet it is not at all clear that he had any means of rekindling that spirit. Aronian skepticism may sometimes seem like very thin soup, and it is not surprising that other intellectuals lusted after heartier concoctions.

In the end, Aron can perhaps be seen as one of the last great exemplars of the classical Western liberalism that flourished at a time in history when the narrowness of inherited identities was being thrown off. The future, however, may require something more than this liberal and humane open-mindedness. Aron's religiously observant Jewish grandfather, whom he never met but to whose memory he wishes to remain faithful, was perhaps better prepared for the exigencies of an uncertain future than was his eminent and admirable descendant. □

TYPING MONKEY

Orley Ashenfelter

Dangerous Currents: The State of Economics, by Lester C. Thurow
Random House, 247 pp., $14.95

LIKE THE economy, economic science has its ups and downs. *Dangerous Currents* charts the course of economic science over the last three decades and concludes that the economics profession is in treacherous waters. The major indictment is that the conventional supply/demand apparatus does not explain the "economic facts." Instead of changing their theories, Thurow asserts, economists have turned to stacking the deck. This is accomplished, for the most part, by ignoring some empirical phenomena and molding what cannot be ignored into a more acceptable shape by means of econometrics and computers.

Thurow has touched on a sore point in the body of current economic practice that is also probed in a small, continuing stream of discussion in the professional economics journals. This discussion ranges from a paper appearing in the normally esoteric *American Economic Review* last year entitled "Let's Take the Con Out of Econometrics," to cries of dismay over various econometric slips that appear to "accidentally" bolster one ideological position or another. Thurow chronicles, for example, the tale of Martin Feldstein's studies of the deleterious effect of the Social Security system on private savings. Unable to reproduce Feldstein's empirical results, two analysts at the Social Security Administration discovered "computer errors" in the original study that reversed its results.

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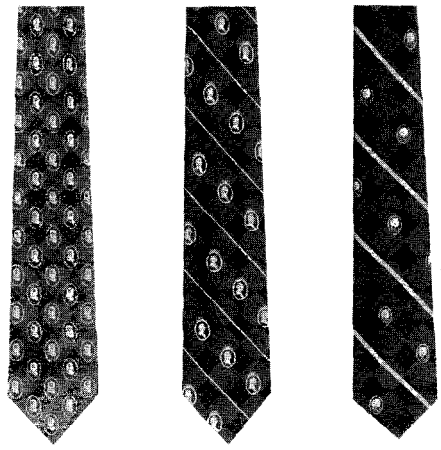

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ MORE APRIL TITLES: In *Trade War: Greed, Power, and Industrial Policy on Opposite Sides of the Pacific* (Congdon & Weed, $17.95), Steven Schlosstein argues that the U.S. must recognize it is involved in a trade war with Japan, that it must begin to compete in earnest, and that it must take a leaf from the enemy's book by adopting a national economic policy. . . . *Ernest Bevin: Foreign Secretary* (Norton, $37.50) concludes the three-volume biography by Sir Alan Bullock. The first two volumes were published in 1960 and 1967; Bullock was then forced to suspend operations until 1981, at which time the Bevin papers became available. From them he has produced a first-rate study of British foreign policy between 1945 and 1951, "a time when the framework of international relations was entirely remade."

Joan Didion's new novel is *Democracy* (Simon & Schuster, $13.95), concerning a Hawaiian family whose lives serve as a paradigm of Washington's misguided relations with Southeast Asia. . . . *Slow Learner: Early Stories* (Little, Brown, $14.95) is a collection of short fiction by Thomas Pynchon, all of it written between 1958 and 1964.

Walt Whitman: The Making of a Poet (Basic, $18.95), by Paul Zweig, explains the process by which Whitman, for ten years a "drab, excitable journalist," transformed himself into a forerunner (as Zweig sees him) of Pound and Eliot. . . . *Conversations with Eudora Welty* (Mississippi, $17.95; paper, $9.95), edited by Peggy Whitman, covers forty years in the novelist's life, from 1942 to 1982. Among the interviewers are Walter Clemons, Alice Walker, and William F. Buckley Jr.

Beyond the Wall (Holt, Rinehart, $14.95; paper, $7.95), by Edward Abbey, is a collection of essays taking us from the Arizona desert through the "lung-colored, liver-hued bentonite hills" of Utah to Alaska's Kongakut River. Vintage work from this pungent, highly unusual writer. —CW

It is not just outright error, most of which is no doubt never uncovered anyway, that has sent the reputation of the economics profession into a tailspin. Thurow also observes that our most eminent Nobel Prize winners, including representatives of both the political Right and the political Left, have made public predictions that, insofar as they were acted upon, doubtless caused plenty of misery. For example, Paul Samuelson, one of President Kennedy's advisors, is reputed to have said in the early 1960s that anyone who did not protect himself from inflation by buying corporate equities was so stupid that he deserved to lose his wealth. Thurow observes that anyone who followed Samuelson's recommendation lost one-half of his real wealth between 1968 and 1982. Likewise, Milton Friedman, one of President Reagan's advisors, announced flatly in the early 1970s that OPEC would collapse within a year, as would oil prices.

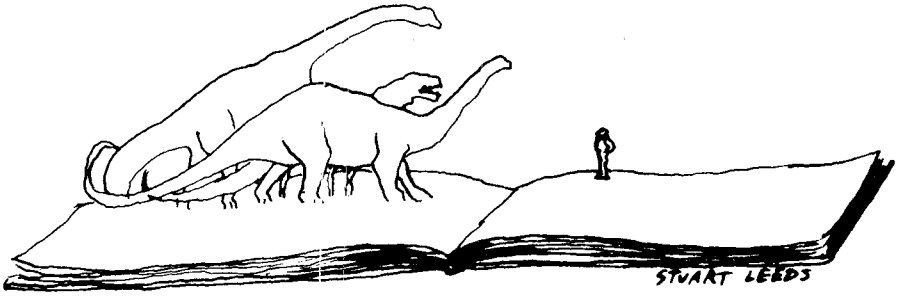
Thurow's book is written for two (sometimes contradictory) purposes. The first is to strip away the technical jargon and explain to the layman the current status of academic economics. This is a much-needed effort, as the standard (and enormously profitable) textbooks in economics continue to remain unchanged in the face of a virtual revolution in the professional literature. Actually, it is difficult to understand why the textbook market is so hostile to innovation. No doubt part of the explanation is the desire to continue in a make-believe world where answers are known with certainty and a good memory is all a student needs to do well on examinations. In this regard economists are somewhat like men of medicine and meteorologists. There is an endless demand for the facile certainty of quacks and rainmakers.

Thurow has also addressed *Dangerous Currents* to his brethren, the professional economists. The goal is to stimulate an interest in "the broader currents at work in our discipline." The time is certainly ripe for such a reconsideration. It seems doubtful, however, that so general a discussion as *Dangerous Currents* is likely to stimulate it.

Indeed, the major fault I find with Thurow's argument is that it does not explore the basic mechanism by which academic economists' incentives are determined. What determines the agenda of topics for discussion and what determines the criteria for scientific success? Thurow occasionally suggests that following the fads may be in an economist's pecuniary best interest, but I doubt that Thurow would opt for so vulgar an explanation of economists' incentives. If economists are increasingly less interested in an explanation of the "facts," it seems likely that this is a response to a changed incentive structure. If we do not understand the nature of these altered incentives, it is unlikely that the response will change either.

One key difference between research in economics and research in the harder sciences is that it is often in somebody's interest to hide or destroy the findings of truthful empirical research in economics. Two decades of academic research on the stock market, for example, have provided ample evidence that very little of the dearly bought "advice" of Wall Street pundits was worth its price. Of course, the proverbial typing monkey will occasionally come up with a passage from Shakespeare, just as some of the Wall Street chartists forecast the winners from time to time. But who can predict when and where it will happen? Nevertheless, the owner of the monkey will recognize a gold mine when he sees one, as people flock to his circus tent on the chance that the monkey will type another passage from Shakespeare right before their eyes. It is hardly surprising that the Wall Street wizards wish to protect their own hard-won good luck, and that many of them therefore have resisted the dissemination and denied the implications of the academic research that would so undercut their own profits.

Why, then, is there any truthful economic research at all? I suspect that the major demand is from the universities, for whom a long-term reputation for truthfulness is a major selling point with potential students. However, the last decade has witnessed a dramat-



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ic decline in the academic demand for economic research and perhaps a subsequent decline in its empirical content. The next decade will see an even more dramatic decline in the relative demands of the academy, and perhaps also a continued drift by economic science into still more dangerous currents. □

FALLING AWAY

Eric J. Sundquist

The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer, by Jackson J. Benson
Viking, 1,116 pp., $35

IN A TOUGH but accurate piece published in the *New York Times Book Review* when John Steinbeck was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1962, Arthur Mizener argued that a "moral vision of the Thirties" had little relevance in the Sixties, that all of Steinbeck's work was seriously flawed, and that the award sprang in part from devotion among European intellectuals to "sentimental humanitarianism, especially when it is displayed about the poor . . . in a society that is supposed by many of them to be the last stronghold of uncontrolled capitalist exploitation." Critical attacks on Steinbeck had become routine by this point in his career. Mizener's essay, as Steinbeck's new biographer shows, was unique only in the degree of pain it caused the novelist, who, as always, bore it stoically, but complained privately to his longtime editor, Pat Covici, that "Mickey Spillane is writing for Mr. Mizener much more than I am. Never will he catch a Spillane character in such abominations as humor, love, compassion, or thought."

The letter to Pat Covici is one of many that Jackson Benson's comprehensive biography makes available for the first time. While he carefully documents Steinbeck's feelings about his work and its reception, however, his view is sometimes too partisan for its own good. Benson finds critical evaluations by Mizener, Edmund Wilson, Alfred Kazin, and others ill-willed and condescending, but he fails to argue convincingly against their main artistic points. He admits on several occasions that Steinbeck's philosophy is hollow, his dramatic plotting lame, and his style overly romantic, yet he believes that Steinbeck deserved a Nobel Prize and a thousand-page biography.

Leave aside the former. The latter is a labor of admiration that scrupulously details the glamorous and mundane life of a man who loved to write and was lucky enough to gain a large paying audience for it. The previous biographies by Thomas Kernan and Nelson Valjean are insubstantial and anecdotal; Benson's, based on hundreds of interviews and documents, will be the standard work for the foreseeable future.

Its strengths lie in the close observation of Steinbeck's life: There is little cultural or historical background, no amateur psychoanalysis or tendentious illustration of a thesis. Instead, we see Steinbeck posturing as a young writer, buying good stories from hoboes, struggling as part of the "Unfortunate Generation" (his term—too young to be "Lost," too old to be "Beat"), imbibing his eclectic naturalism from Monterey biologist Ed Ricketts, traveling among California migrant workers to gather material for his Dust Bowl masterpiece, watching Hemingway manfully break in half a walking stick Stein-

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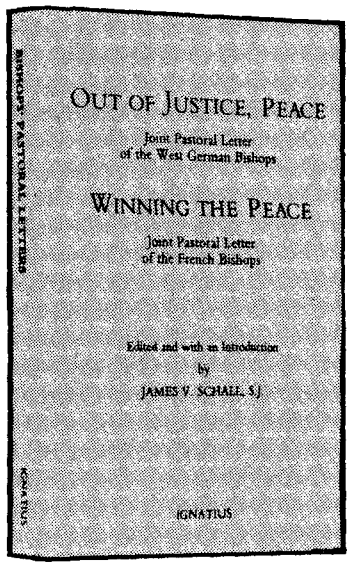
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beck had presented as a gift to John O'Hara, supporting *both* Elia Kazan and Arthur Miller in their opposing responses to HUAC, and weathering the assaults of Oklahoma congressmen in the Thirties and *Ramparts* magazine in the Sixties. His childhood and three marriages, his life in California, New York, and Europe, his shy fear of fame, and his willing participation in myths about himself are all presented with a balance of tact and candor. If Benson's writing is sometimes colorless or awkward, it still captures the flavor of Steinbeck's talk, manner, and opinions.

Although he does not mention Mizener's point about the politics of the Nobel Prize for Literature, Benson does clarify the record on Steinbeck's own politics. As a New Deal Democrat who enjoyed the friendship of Roosevelt, Stevenson, Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson, Steinbeck was never much of a radical himself. Attacks on him as a Red in the Thirties found their only justification in the topics of his fiction; and true believers like recent Vassar grad Mary McCarthy, who reviewed *In Dubious Battle* for *The Nation* and found it lacked a mature understanding of class warfare, decided he fell short of the Party line. After World War II, the intellectual Left increasingly assailed Steinbeck for not continuing to dream the dream of *The Grapes of Wrath*, with its utopian government camps and its homespun agrarian vision of the "land" and the "people." And it seems unlikely that he could have received the Nobel (or any other) Prize after his first-hand field reports from Vietnam in 1966-67 branded the Vietcong as brutal terrorists and staunchly supported the U.S. military effort. The Prize committee complimented his critical view of American values in *The Winter of Our Discontent*, a novel fueled by the dishonesty of Charles Van Doren (in the TV quiz-show scandal) and the lurking villainy of Richard Nixon (associated by Steinbeck with the book's titular source, *Richard III*). Would it have warmed to him a year later—in 1963—when, on a State Department tour, he spoke his mind in Russia (we believe in peaceful coexistence except "when the price of your existence is our disappearance") and Berlin (the Wall is a Communist confession of "a failure in competition, a failure in everything")?

One value of Benson's biography lies in its willingness to confront us with Steinbeck's patriotic complexities while at the same time illustrating how attacks on him from both within and without the academy have often been motivated by his reluctance to refight the old fight. However, as in the case of *The Moon Is Down*—the simplistic anti-German novel of 1942 pilloried by James Thurber and others for being soft on Nazism—the questions to be raised about Steinbeck have less to do with his affiliations or intentions than with the range of his talents. Benson's biography gives us a full picture of the man. What we need now is a more exacting picture of his work and its place in the rise and decline of modern American liberalism. □

THEATER

ON DOVER BEACH

M. D. Aeschliman

TOM STOPPARD'S plays have always provided feasts of wit, but have often also aroused the suspicion that the elegant and ironic surface is all there is; that there finally may be less there than meets the ear; that the playwright himself is only a brilliantly, fluently, acrobatically agile nihilist. Is he fundamentally in collusion with, and parasitically living off, materials, manners, and a cultural moment and milieu that he is ostensibly satirizing?

On the evidence of previous plays, the verdict seems to be in the balance. *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern* set the ambiguity, its characters hovering on the brink of absurdity, holding it off only by energetic wit and velocity of language, yet finally and poignantly full of pathos. Among the other plays, *Dirty Linen* was a disappointingly commercial and libidinous farce of the "anything for a laugh" genre; *Every Good Boy Deserves Favor* was the work of a moralist, but too earnest, workmanlike, and slight: agitprop for the true Good, but agitprop nonetheless. *Jumpers* was something else again. Although Michael Hordern as the cuckolded professor of moral philosophy was unforgettably funny in the London production, he was, in the tradition of the Shakespearean fool, "funny" in a profound way, comical in a sense intended by the text and reminiscent of the *Praise of Folly* and of Lear's Fool, simultaneously in search of and faithful to a bond of obligation that is apprehended only partially, "through a glass darkly," but which claims us and by whose moral attraction and light we live decently, if we do at all.

On first view—the first act—Stoppard's new play, *The Real Thing*, is more a mirror than a lamp, reflecting a world essentially enthralled by the lust for sensation (the "libido sentiendi" that the medieval moralists never tired of warning us about and which was a big part of the damnation of Dr. Faustus). This cleverly vulgar world is sensate, mobile, promiscuous, commercial—"modern" in the depressingly familiar, reductive, and crude sense.

But by the second act we see something else and something better—whether in the London production at the Strand, directed by Peter Wood and starring Roger Rees and the lovely Felicity Kendall; in the present New York production at the Plymouth Theatre, directed by Mike Nichols and starring Jeremy Irons and Glenn Close; or in the text itself (published by Faber and Faber; $4.95). The acrobatic play of wit, the punning, the elegance, the accuracy with which contemporary mores are rendered—as brilliantly managed as they all are, these are not merely autonomous or ornamental. To be sure, there are risks: Obscenity and cynicism, profanity in the large sense, however clever, are dangerous tools with which to play, however much our culture seems to celebrate and delight in them; and the urbanely wielded sword of witty scorn may turn and carve the carver.

Yet *The Real Thing* is finally poignant and not merely glib and clever, and its theme is an important one. It is finally "about" the fate of fidelity in the modern world, the fate of *Gemeinschaft* amidst *Gesellschaft*, the fate of persons in the face of things and of values in the face of facts. Nihilism is finally held off in this play not by a glib and interminable tongue, by an unstoppable mouth, or even by energetic wit and velocity of language, but by the residual morality implicit in the insistence on, the hope for, the love of, and the faith in fidelity to personal love and to the dignity of language. To be sure, both are honored almost

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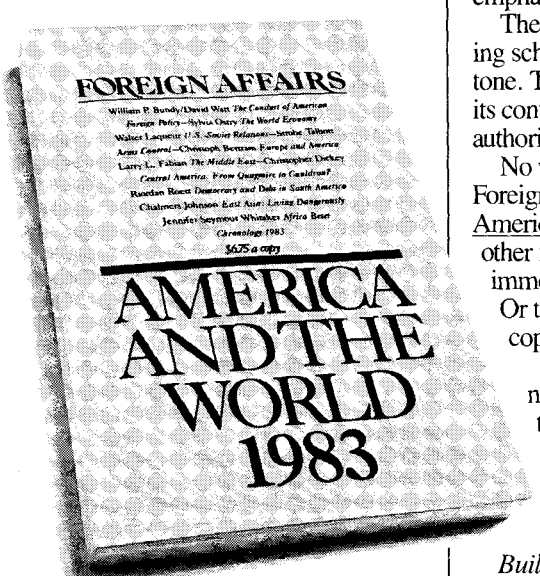

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as much in the breach as in the observance; but they are nevertheless honored, in the mind, life, love, talk, and writing of the protagonist, Henry. He is not a willing "connoisseur of chaos" but instead, as his first wife says, "the last romantic," and in this he is precisely reminiscent of one of the earlier ones, the Arnold of "Dover Beach":

Ah, love, let us be true
To one another! For the world, which seems
To be before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.

The bond of fidelity between lovers, "infinite riches in a little room," is a great stay against the chaos of the modern world, a stay against accident, promiscuous whim, ravenous appetite, and existential absurdity. And Stoppard expresses and praises this personal fidelity by means of another kind of fidelity, the fidelity to the literary craft, a fidelity that is itself marvelously and memorably expressed in a number of Henry's speeches in Act II. Resisting the ideological, populist, Marxist rape of language in agitprop, Henry says at one point:

> Words don't deserve that kind of malarkey. They're innocent, neutral, precise, standing for this, describing that, meaning the other, so if you look after them you can build bridges across incomprehension and chaos. But when they get their corners knocked off, they're no good any more.

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

RONALD BERMAN—who was nominated by President Nixon in 1971 for the job of Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and who served in that capacity until 1977—leaves two major questions unanswered in *Culture & Politics* (University Press of America, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Md. 20706; $10.95). The first, which he does not address, is why a well-known Shakespeare scholar and former associate editor of *The Kenyon Review* would wish to leave a presumably pleasant job with the University of California in order to embroil himself in a political culture in which the discussion attendant upon a visit to America by the Royal Shakespeare Company focused on whether or not the trip were equitable to Actors Equity. This may seem like a naïve question, rather like wanting to know why Ronald Reagan wanted to leave his elaborate ranch in sunny California in order to be President of the United States. It does, nevertheless, bear upon the second, and more important, question, which Berman does address but fails to answer; namely, Why have a National Endowment for the Humanities in the first place?

Berman, a self-described conservative who was recognized as such during the nomination hearing by natural enemies like Senators Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island and Jacob Javits of New York, admits that as his "Monaco-sized" fiefdom of the Federal Government grew, "I was something of a problem to conservatives," for whom government subsidy of ideas means their debasement. The closest thing to an answer we get is the oblique suggestion that the Endowment is there and it might as well be run by someone sensible. That is not an argument with which I would agree, but I have no quarrel with the proposition that Ronald Berman is a sensible man and that his was a responsible tenure at the NEH.

From the first, Berman was determined that the Endowment for the Humanities would not go the way of its sister agency, the Endowment for the Arts, which, under the chairmanship of Nancy Hanks, had established itself as an unquestioning purveyor of benefits to an ever-increasing, ever-more-voracious constituency of the Chief Little-Bigfoot Oilpaint on Birchbark sort. "The NEA," Berman writes,

> represents "the arts" rather than art, which is understandable given the fact that it represents the will of its constituency. And "the arts" stand for the distribution of funds rather than specific accomplishments; the subsidy of associations promoting themselves as well as their purposes; . . . the use of art for social purposes; the satisfaction of particular constituencies. . . . In the 14 years since the inception of this agency, and after the expenditure of the better part of a billion dollars, *we are hard put to name a single work of art worth recollecting that it has made possible.*

So Berman set out to do things differently:

> My own business in managing NEH was, I thought, to keep the humanities professional while making their benefits accessible to the public. Scholars could do the scripts for something like *The Adams Family Chronicle* and the public could enjoy good television. . . . What I should not do . . . was to redefine the humanities as in themselves sources of direct public benefit, or give to constituencies or pressure groups funds in the name of the humanities.

A corollary of this sort of thinking was that large projects of national resonance should be favored over individual, piecemeal, and regional grants: a conclusion that put Berman on collision course with Senator Pell, chairman of the Arts and Humanities Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, who saw the NEH and the NEA as rich sources of seed-money to scatter around in furtherance of such projects as the one, dear to his heart, by which "grocers" and "lumberjacks" would be given $500 grants to buy copies of the Great Books, which they would presumably read. (In 1976 Pell made an abortive effort to have Berman removed from the chairmanship; he was instrumental the following year in blocking Berman's reappointment.)

BERMAN IS very witty in deflating the philistines, particularly that sort of philistine who believes that "the humanities" make us more "humane," "well-adjusted," and—when you come right down to it—"liberal." Partly for that reason, however, I wish he were a little more apologetic about his role in developing an agency that has wheeled, dealed, and *spent* with the best of them. □

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"I don't think writers are sacred, but words are," Henry continues.

> They deserve respect. If you get the right ones in the right order, you can nudge the world a little or make a poem which children will speak for you when you're dead.

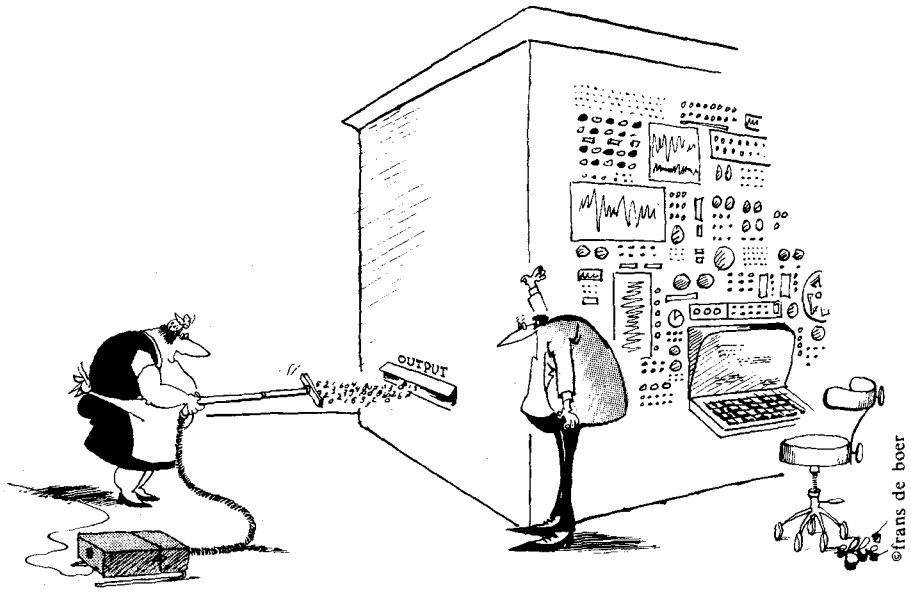
This is one ultimately "real thing" for Henry and Stoppard, and their utmost eloquence is dedicated to the praise and preservation of another "real thing" of inestimable value, a pearl of great price, romantic fidelity. Love, Henry tries to explain to his "liberated" teenage daughter, has "to do with knowing and being known."

> I remember how it stopped seeming odd that in Biblical Greek knowing was used for making love. . . . It's what lovers trust each other with. Knowledge of each other, not of the flesh but through the flesh, knowledge of self, the real him, the real her, *in extremis*, the mask slipped from the face. . . .

"Every other version of oneself is on offer to the public," he continues; "what else is there that hasn't been dealt out like a deck of cards?"

> A sort of knowledge. Personal, final, uncompromised. Knowing, being known. I revere that.

"What free love is free of," he says to his libidinous daughter, "is love." Precise, right, and sapient. □



DELECTATIONS

IN CLERKENWELL

Nika Hazelton

When I was a student at the London School of Economics before World War II, I had to do any kind of job that I could find to support myself and to cater to my love for leading a life of great diversity. It was a time when jobs for students were scarce, and so my diverse ways of life were not very profitable.

One of my occupations was to sell flowers in Piccadilly Circus (those being the dear dead days when there were still "flower girls" there, or rather elderly matrons with a sharp eye and wit). I was also a fish-shop helper in Clerkenwell, the district near the Smithfield meat market, which then was strictly lower-class, though now, for all I know, it may be gentrified beyond recognition. I had gone to Smithfield market to visit a butcher—the father of a fellow student—to collect something for a number of us who used to cook together, and I must have looked rather pitiful, for the man asked me if I was down on my luck, as indeed I was. "Go there and there," he said to me, "but go immediately to see this friend of mind who has a fish shop in Clerkenwell. He needs help in the shop because his wife is ill." He said—and I'll forever remember his words—"You look as if you can take it."

I ended up in a narrow side street, dark as sin and as unsavory as most sins, illuminated by a miserable gas light. The shop was a hole in the wall, selling fish and poultry (read: rabbits) to the poor in the neighborhood. But the owner was a nice Cockney, and since I really was about to be thrown out of my bed-sitter for nonpayment of rent (one guinea a week with breakfast), I took the job he offered me, wages amounting to eight shillings a week, with bed and board. That is, I slept in the bed with his wife, while he slept in the kitchen.

The first evening I had to scrub the shop from top to bottom, which was, I assure you, not a poetical job. The people themselves were by no means dirty, but since the woman had been sickly for months she was incapable of doing much around the house, let alone the shop. She spent her days sitting upright, totally silent, in the kitchen, and came to life only once a day, or rather night. After pub closing, her husband used to come back drunk from the neighborhood saloon, usually with female company to whom he would bid fond and lengthy adieus at his front door. Then the wife became a raging fury, shouting and cursing and throwing anything she could lay hands on at her husband's head. It soon became clear to me why the husband had asked me to lock up all the dishes, pots, and pans, and to give him the keys to the cupboard. In the morning he returned the keys to his wife, as if nothing had happened. The neighbors were used to those nightly scenes and thought nothing of it; on the contrary, my employers were considered to be a happy couple.

Both were very good to me. We had plenty of food—cooked largely by myself and a neighbor—and they asked me no questions after I told them that I was on my own. There were enough people around for them to wonder about, and I was a good worker. I used to get up at five in the morning, after having slept solidly in the joint bed; the woman let me have the larger part of it because "you work hard, dear." The husband had already been to the market by that time, and we had to prepare the fish, the chickens, and the rabbits for the shop. Of these activities, skinning the rabbits was the most hateful. They look like babies when skinned, and it makes one feel like Herod. We drank innumerable cups of strong tea as we worked and discussed politics; the man used to tell me of his British Army experiences, which had been brutal. He could not understand why the many unemployed who begged for our throwaway scraps did

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not make a revolution but instead, like himself, tried to get as drunk as they could as often as they could pay for it. "It's the quickest way out of Clerkenwell," he used to say.

The evenings were the worst because the shop had to be scrubbed. There is nothing more depressing than the dead look of fish heads; and after a 16-hour working day, cleanliness becomes a relative matter. On Saturday night, we washed ourselves in the kitchen—though not at the same time, I hasten to say, because we were very proper people. On Sunday I stayed in bed until noon and went to see my friends in the afternoon. They were not surprised by my life, and I rather liked it myself. I think for the very first time I felt necessary to somebody and part of the working world.

Meantime, my absence from the London School of Economics had been observed and frowned upon by my teachers. As they planned to kick me out if I did not return, and as this would have meant I would have had to leave London, I returned to my studies. I had an obvious excuse: a cut on the finger that swelled up and became nasty. But my employers would not have let me go because of this—they knew what it was to need the money. So I told them a lie—that my mother was sick (she was not, and in any case she was in Italy)—which they accepted without question. I had lasted almost a month. □

AMUSEMENTS

WORDS AT PLAY

Timothy J. Wheeler

QUICK: What's the opposite of "dismay"? "Next June," Leo Rosten assures us. What's good about "ptomaine"? Look closely, as "Hap" Hazard did, and you'll find Tom Paine hidden in the word, his first name tucked inside his last. What's so apt about "*H.M.S. Pinafore*"? By rearranging the letters, Marjorie Friedman discovered it was a "name for ship." Pretty!

Who is Attila Scott? When Murray Pearce posed this at the National Puzzlers' League convention last July, few were fooled. The NPL was celebrating its Attila-the-HUN DRED Scott-th birthday. At its founding in 1883, the league was one of many groups devoted to the popular pastime of word puzzles. Today it is the only survivor of that era and the oldest puzzlers' group in the world. What has sustained it from the beginning is a fascination with words and wordplay.

The NPL membership, known as the "Krewe," has never exceeded five hundred or so. Yet it ever attracts many professionals in the puzzle business, and many others with nothing in common save a fanatical enthusiasm for words. (Conventions are called "nut meets.") With three hundred members today, the league is in robust health and always welcomes a few more word freaks.

And they do have fun with words. Logophiles are never content to read a word in the standard left-to-right fashion. They read words inside out (P-TOM-AINE), upside down, or chopped in pieces (DISH + ONE + STY = DISHONESTY). If you put your DRAWER in backward, they give you a REWARD. They scramble the letters (and maybe add or subtract one) and try to find another word. This was literally magic until a couple of centuries ago, and it still has a way of confirming our darker political prejudices. (Fool around with a SENATOR and you get TREASON. And who doubts that a LIBERAL gets his political insights in BRAILLE?) Logophiles behead words (SPARK, PARK, ARK) or curtail them (RUMPLESS, RUMPLES). They shift letters around (OPT, TOP, POT), delete them (CRUISES, CRISES), or change them (MENUS, VENUS). They fool with phonetic types like homonyms (EYE MAKE-UP, I'M A-CUP). They chew on words a hundred ways, and every time they find something interesting, they have a base for a new word puzzle (and never mind that some other NPL member used it in 1903).

A hundred or more of these puzzles appear every month in the league's organ, *The Enigma*. A typical 16-page issue will carry eighty or ninety word puzzles in verse, called flats; a dozen anagrams with the feature that the "annie" must define its answer (like NAME FOR SHIP); half a dozen "forms" (geometric "crosswords" with no black squares); eight or ten uncategorizable puzzles called extras; and seven cryptograms, often fiendishly devised. Bases for the puzzles, called keywords, must appear in both the second and third editions of Webster's New International, unabridged (known as *NI2* and NI3 to the Krewe). That is some six thousand unabridged pages, and more than half a million words, of haystack for NPL needlers to play with. Not enough! "Familiar" words, names, titles, etc. that haven't made it into the dictionary are also allowed.

'Nig puzzles are all volunteered by Krewe composers (some fifty of whom contribute to each issue). They range from some easy enough to solve on sight to others that would tax the facilities of the New York Public Library. Solvers have two months to submit solutions lists; then answers are given and solving scores published in the following issue. Very few solvers get them all correct.

Here, for the flavor, are two recent flats, the first easy, the second excruciating. Answers given below.

1. A "second-letter change" means two keywords—designated ONE and TWO in the verse—that differ only in their second letter (CAT, COT). The "(6)" is the number of letters in the answer words. You guess the answer from the clues provided in the verse.

SECOND-LETTER CHANGE (6)

If all you wear's a ONE, Sweet Sue,
Make sure the fastener is TWO.
—Paul & Virginia, 1977

2. A "repeated-letter change" switches all instances of a given letter in one word to a different letter in the second word; as in TATTLE/BABBLE or PUDDLE/PUZZLE.

REPEATED-LETTER CHANGE (11)

No ONE was ever found
To come and take Christ's place:
His feet upon the TWO
And pain upon His face.
—Eric, 1983

Answers: 1) is SARONG/STRONG. Easy, huh? And see how nicely they fit the verse clues? A pretty base in that the keywords, differing only in their second letter, have such unlike meanings. If you solved 2), the NPL needs you! Only a handful of the Krewe found the solution in the allotted two months. ONE is SUCCEDANEUM (meaning a substitute), TWO is SUPPEDANEUM (a sort of platform).

Whew! This is the sort of puzzle that keeps even experienced NPL hands from scoring coveted "Completes" (getting them all right), and has novices mumbling in their sleep. Nevertheless,

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the Krewe routinely spend several hours a week, and often far more, wrestling with *'Nig* puzzles, or composing new ones, or carrying on extensive correspondence with other members—to discuss puzzles, of course.

Not enough! They also love to gather once or twice a year for nut meets, which offer more puzzling and a variety of competitions involving wordplay. Let other groups convene for business and sneak in what fun they can between sessions. The NPL holds its conventions for fun and sneaks in its business between game sessions—a considerable improvement. Last year's centennial meet (the league's 144th) attracted a quarter of the Krewe to New Brunswick, New Jersey, some from as far as California. It lasted four days instead of the usual three, still not enough for many Krewe members who came early, left late, and brought with them numerous nasty puzzles and games to tax other members with. It even offered a convention journal, the *Daily Sphinx*, for the first time since 1901, which carried (what else?) more puzzles and comment. (Some things have changed since 1883: The *Sphinx* was put out on an Apple IIe computer.)

Not enough for *you*? Puzzlers' itch coming on? Well, join the Krewe! □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Essays in Musical Analysis, by Sir Donald Francis Tovey (Oxford, 1,024 pp., $25, paper)

Sir Donald Francis Tovey made a high art out of the writing of program notes; nobody, not even Michael Steinberg, has ever come close to Tovey at his best. Now Oxford University Press has finally issued its two-volume edition of Tovey's *Essays in Musical Analysis* in the United States. (Volume I covers symphonies and other orchestral works; Volume II, concertos and choral works.) Sixty-five of the original essays have been dropped from this new edition for various reasons. (Some of the omissions are barely excusable; where, for example, is Tovey's great polemic on "Wagner in the Concert Room"?) The rest are reprinted intact, musical examples and all. The blurb, for once, is exactly right: "Tovey's *Essays* . . . are the most famous works of musical criticism in the English language. For acuteness, common sense, clarity, and wit they are probably unequaled, and they make ideal reading for anyone interested in the classical music repertory." Very highly recommended to anyone who does not already own the six original volumes. TERRY TEACHOUT

Glenn, by Frank Van Riper (Empire Books, 360 pp., $13.95)

To many, John Herschel Glenn Jr. is the classic American hero ("Ike in a spacesuit"), the man who seemed, before the debacles in Iowa and New Hampshire, to have the best chance of defeating Ronald Reagan in 1984. To others, the Ohio senator is a political paradox whose credentials for the Oval Office were suspect all along. Both sides will find ample evidence in this sympathetic biography to support their respective cases. For the man who emerges in these pages remains something of an enigma. No one can question either his courage or his character: Before Colonel Glenn became the first American to orbit the earth, he had accumulated five Distinguished Flying Crosses and 18 Air Medals for combat gallantry in World War II and Korea. And when he left the service, Glenn turned down several business offers that would have parlayed his celebrity into a fortune. His political acumen, however, is another matter. After one false start (in 1964, when a freak accident ended his candidacy for the Senate) and one dismal campaign (he suffered a stunning primary defeat six years later), Glenn finally made it to Washington in 1975. But his "boyhood dream" of becoming a senator was dampened by the fact that he didn't fit into the "club." Preferring principle to coalition-building, he was seen as a loner whose integrity bordered on idiosyncrasy. Calling himself a "centrist," he has nonetheless received a 75 per cent approval rating from the Americans for Democratic Action. Yet his support for the Reagan tax cut and the B-1 bomber makes the liberals nervous. But it's all a bit academic. Whether the Democrats undertake a kamikaze campaign with Mondale, fly into the wild blue yonder of "new ideas" with Hart, or opt instead for an accomplished pilot whose political flight plan is subject to sudden changes, they had best prepare for a crash landing. ALAN L. MILLER

AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST:

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

From the Josephson Research Foundation, Inc., a 160-page report of special interest to public policy-makers. The report summarizes an October, 1983 Washington conference on Lebanon, The West Bank and Gaza, The Persian Gulf, The "Moderate" Arabs, and Israel. And includes the text of the ten papers presented:

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THE BLANDIFICATION OF RONALD REAGAN

NEW YORK, MARCH 12

YOU KNOW the one about fighting for Ronald Reagan's soul? Well there are those of us who have been pretty serene on the subject, confident that the President can resist the Faustian bid ("Give me four more years in the White House, Satan, and thereafter you may do as you like with my soul"). But when the Devil is as blatant as David Gergen was last week, the faithful need to come in with holy-water sprinklers.

Now, David Gergen was the Director of Communications at the White House for several years before pulling out a few months ago to return to private life. You will not be surprised to learn that he thinks Mr. Reagan needs to bring "new energy and ideas into a second term." You will not be surprised that new ideas always, but always, involve more social spending at home together with more regulation; and, abroad, more appeasement.

Mr. Gergen refers to the "hard-core conservatives" who back Mr. Reagan and who will destroy him, if he follows their counsel. What is the kind of thing a hard-core conservative believes in? "They are willing to support tax simplification, but only if there is no increase in the tax burden."

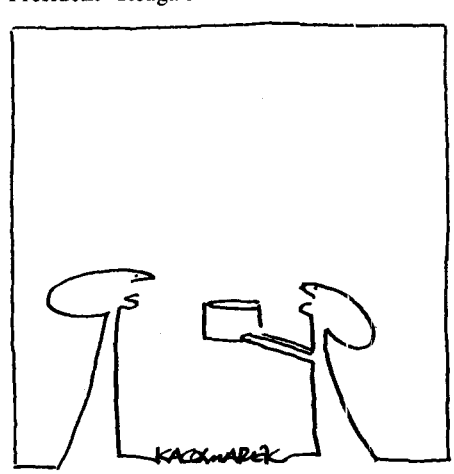
What is so hard-core about that? The overwhelming majority of the people of California, voting yes on Proposition 13, voted to limit taxes on real property to 1 per cent. Hard-core? We are paying 39 per cent of the GNP in America—39 per cent of all the goods and services produced by rich and poor alike—to sustain government. Does it really require hard-corism to consider 39 per cent an excessive levy?

Mr. Gergen says that the hard-corites desire that Mr. Reagan get on with his social agenda, including school prayer, tuition tax credits, and anti-crime measures. "But is this the agenda that really best serves Ronald Reagan?" If the Reagan legacy is "to be positive"? The planted axiom in the formulation demands that the answer should be no.

Why "no"? I say "yes." I wish the children in public schools to be free to pray for the exorcism of the Soviet Union as well as for the enlightenment of Mr. Gergen, and I do not see why that is hard-core. It may be right, may be wrong; but if hard-core is measured by the tenacity with which a group of voters desires, for instance, that the crime rate should diminish, it is no more hard-core to desire progress in a social agenda than to desire, as the hard-core people did twenty years ago, progress in the matter of civil rights. Then Mr. Gergen goes one better: "The Administration in the second term must either raise taxes and stretch out defense increases or face an end to recovery." Now, in the first place, these are not exclusive alternatives. In the second place, more taxes could be raised by flat-tax revisions, such as have been recommended by hard-core Democrats Senator Bradley, and Mr. Gephardt —and George McGovern.

But the zinger is the foreign-policy plank for the New Reagan. You've guessed it? Right. He must turn his "creative energies to building a different, closer relationship with Moscow." Why not a "Soviet specialist" to advise him? Say, Richard Barnet from the Institute for Policy Studies. Can't "more heavyweight strategic thinkers be found to come into the Administration in a second term"? Somebody like, oh, Herbert Scoville? You will notice that the softer you are, in that world, the heavier you are. Churchill would have been such a lightweight he'd have floated.

What Mr. Gergen has in mind for President Reagan's second term is that he should ignore conservative thought domestically and, abroad, revise weakward our policy of resistance to Soviet encroachment. Not bad, this agenda, for one man. It calls merely for undoing the *Federalist Papers*, and unliving Lenin. And progressing into history with the force and personality of a vanilla milkshake. □



"You looking for catch-all relief?"

NEIL KINNOCK AND UNILATERALISM

LONDON, FEB. 27

NEIL KINNOCK, freshly returned from a trip to the United States, where he sowed his wild oats about unilateral nuclear disarmament in pretty barren soil, had to go up-country to Chesterfield to campaign for Tony Benn. This is on the order of asking Ronald Reagan to go to Connecticut to campaign for Lowell Weicker. A duty. Less because the positions of Neil Kinnock, a "radical socialist" as he styles himself, and Tony Benn are so different—they aren't, really—but because Kinnock's is a totally different personality. Benn is a superb rabble-rouser as is Kinnock, who is young enough to be Benn's son, assuming that Benn had, as they say in England, had at it early in life. But although Kinnock the stemwinder will promise you that life will cease if Labour is not elected, and that under Mrs. Thatcher the rich will prey on the poor until the last scrap of bread has been taken from their table, he does all of this most ingratiatingly, by contrast with Mr. Benn, who gives the impression that if he could get away with it he would introduce cannibalism to Great Britain, every Labourite being responsible for eating a Conservative a day until there were none left. That, incidentally, would mean about one and one-half Conservatives per Labourite to eat, the vote having divided 42 to 28 last June.

But Kinnock did his duty, and it is generally supposed now that in his heart of hearts he dearly hopes old Tony Benn won't be elected. For one thing, Kinnock would almost certainly then need to give him a post in the shadow cabinet, either that or risk the wrath of the

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small but potent constituency of Tony Benn. On the other hand, elevating him would mean making him conspicuous all over again, and frightening all those Conservatives who do not want to be eaten for breakfast, or to surrender their atom bombs in preparation for surrendering to the Soviet Union.

It was this subject that consumed our hour together. Here is the not-so-new look of the British unilateralist surrender people, as inflected by the young leader of the Labour Party.

1. The Soviet Union could not absorb any country in Western Europe and for that reason would not engage in military action against Europe.

2. In the thoroughly unlikely event that the Soviet Union were to attempt such a thing, European resistance through the use of conventional forces would suffice to put a quietus on the whole thing.

3. The mere existence of a nuclear arsenal in Europe would raise the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons, which then would graduate into the probability of their use. At that point, the world is over, finished: because "there is no such thing as the winner of a nuclear war."

We have heard that song before, of course. And it is reassuring that in a poll taken at the time of the last British election, in 1983—in which the Labour Party did less well than in any general election in 65 years—Mr. Gallup discovered that 73 per cent of the British voters opposed unilateral nuclear disarmament, and that 51 per cent of those who voted Labour also disapproved.

Still, we have in Mr. Kinnock an enormously appealing man who takes what in America is the George Kennan position. It reduces to this: The mere presence of nuclear bombs in our arsenal is an invitation not only that they be used, but that nuclear weapons be used against them.

What—one asks Mr. Kinnock, who would become prime minister in the event of a Labour government—what if, once you had got rid of NATO bases with nuclear arms and also got rid of your own inventory, the Soviet Union handed your government an ultimatum: Surrender to the Soviet army, or we will drop a bomb on Cardiff?

What you get for asking that question is a fatherly smile. There there, son, go back to bed. There aren't any ghosts in your room, promise.

So then you ask, What if the Soviet Union were to make good on its threat and, as they say in the war games, "take out" Cardiff? Suppose that, at that point, the President called you up and said, Mr. Prime Minister, would you like American submarines with their nuclear weapons to be instructed to give the Soviet Union a counter-ultimatum? Leave England alone; or we'll take out Leningrad?

He smiled again and said, "I would say to the President, thank you very much for calling, but the answer is no —that's the way for all of us to get killed."

God save the Queen. He'll have to if Neil Kinnock gets elected. □

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS' MEDAL

PARIS, MARCH 5

THE CONVERSATION went something like this:

Q (over the telephone): Mr. Buckley, we are doing a story on the decision of President Reagan to give the Medal of Freedom to Whittaker Chambers. Do you know why Chambers is being given the award this year?

A: No, I don't.

Q: You mean, you don't think he should be given the award this year?

A: No, I mean I don't know why he wasn't given the award last year. Or the year before that, as far as that goes.

Q: Oh. Well, you know, there has been a considerable amount of controversy about giving the Medal of Freedom Award to someone who lied under oath.

A: Whittaker Chambers did a lot worse than lie under oath. He engaged in treasonable activities against the United States.

Q: Well then, you think it's all right, just the same, to give a confessed perjurer the Medal of Freedom?

A: It seems to me the settled Christian position on such questions is that we view a man's work with attention to where he arrived, rather than where he came from. Otherwise it would be hard to have a high opinion of St. Paul.

Q: But St. Paul didn't lie under oath, did he?

A: I don't know. But he tortured and killed and persecuted a lot of people.

WE DIDN'T, as one can quickly gather, get very far. Friends of Whittaker Chambers, indeed friends of freedom, knew that the decision by Ronald Reagan, easily the most arresting, courageous, and admirable choice for a Freedom Medal winner made in our time, would rouse the old fever-swamp denizens to furies of ignorance and philistinism. The cartoonist Sanders of the *Milwaukee Journal* pictures Reagan, the medal in hand, laying it on the wreath of Whittaker Chambers, with the citation: "For your outstanding contribution to the McCarthy era." The cartoonist evidently is unaware that Chambers opposed Senator McCarthy, and that there is a difference between identifying someone who was (and may still be) a Communist, like Alger Hiss, and someone who wasn't, or wasn't proved to be one (like Dorothy Kenyon).

And Philip Geyelin, the *Washington Post* editor, who should know better, goes off on a quite pointless historical tirade. To read *Witness*, he says, is to rediscover, among other things about Chambers, "that he was a wimp." Presumably if Mr. Geyelin read *Paradise Lost* he would discover that John Milton was a Christer.

To speak of Chambers as the man who fingered Hiss and hid the documents in a pumpkin and who earlier on lied to a congressional committee (in an attempt to save Hiss from more severe treatment) is—there is no other word for it—sheer philistinism. As though one should remember Ernest Hemingway as a drunk, Franz Liszt as an adulterer, Martin Luther King as a swinger. What many Americans who engaged, many innocently, on the side of Hiss in the pitched battle over Chambers and Hiss thirty years ago cannot bear to focus on is that Chambers emerged as the supreme American poet of freedom, the man who, like no other, could reach for the words that crystallize only in the poet's mind to describe the horror of the arrangement of social and political ideas that gave birth to Gulag. Of this he wrote in his masterpiece, *Witness*, and in letters to his friends (a volume of which was published by Putnam in 1970), and in his posthumous book, *Cold Friday*.

Whittaker Chambers—as André Malraux wrote of him—did not, having visited hell, "return with empty hands." In honoring him, Mr. Reagan gives official recognition to a man who, having lived in hell, did as much as any American to warn us of what it is that perdition would bring to the West. He did not believe the West would survive. "It is idle," he wrote to me, "to talk about preventing the wreck of Western civilization. It is already a wreck from within. That is why we can hope to do little more now than snatch a fingernail of a saint from the rack or a handful of ashes from the faggots, and bury them secretly in a flowerpot against the day, ages hence, when a few men begin again to dare to believe that there was once something else, that something else is thinkable, and need some evidence of what it was, and the fortifying knowledge that there were those who, at the great nightfall, took loving thought to preserve the tokens of hope and truth."

Add to those tokens of hope and truth the Medal of Freedom awarded to Whittaker Chambers. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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COACHELLA VALLEY HOMEOWNERS: Window coverings at sensible prices. Nelsha's Draperies, Palm Desert, Calif. 619-346-8651.

ORIGINAL PEN-AND-INK home drawings from photographs. Double matted. Framing and personalized stationery available. For complete descriptive portfolio send $1 to Falk's, Box 128H, New Richmond, Ohio 45157.

BAGPIPES: $120 up. Dirks: $150. Mideastco, 2817 Cameron, Melbourne, Fla. 32901.

Financial

COMPUTER PRINTOUT of six moving averages and their integrated ratios for: Daily DJIA since 1/83; *Weekly Confidence Index, Intermediate Grade Bond Yields*, and Best Bond Yields from 5/82. All four using my parameters, $20. Custom parameters, $10 each. Quotations for individual securities on request. Donald Paszamant, P.O. Box 1215, Highland Park, N.J. 08904.

Educational Opportunities

CATHOLIC LIBERAL EDUCATION. Thomas Aquinas College offers serious intellectual discipline and a close-knit community of students and teachers. Classics from Aristotle to Einstein replace textbooks; classroom discussions replace lectures; elective system replaced by an integrated, comprehensive study of mathematics, experimental science, language, music, history, literature, philosophy, and theology. Classes do not exceed 20 students. Financial-aid program. Applications from students with previous college studies encouraged. Endorsed by M. Stanton Evans, Russell Kirk, Malcolm Muggeridge. Accredited by Western Association of Schools and Colleges. For information write to: Director of Admissions, Thomas Aquinas College, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, Calif. 93069. 805-525-4417.

SYMPOSIUM ON CONSERVATISM with William Rusher, Phyllis Schlafly, Walter Williams. April 11. *Free admission. Optional $12.50 dinner featuring* William Rusher. Write Political Science Dept., Kearney State College, Kearney, Neb. 68849.

Real Estate

LONDON FURNISHED APARTMENTS, short-term rentals. The privacy, economy, convenience of your own home. Specific apartments. Agencies. Floor plans, locations, prices. Eight-page report by experienced journalist, $3.50. Berkeley, Box 311-N, Shaftsbury, Vt. 05262.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

KARL SPENCE:

Crime and Punishment

No amount of reform making it easier to obtain convictions will be of any use if the resulting punishments are so light that, far from deterring others by their example, they do not dissuade even the convict himself from resuming his criminal career.

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RANCH FOR SALE: 124 acres, southern Oregon's Cascade Mountains near Medford, pond, irrigated pasture, timber, 4 barns, 2 homes, excellent retreat in woods, 2,400 sq. ft. redwood home, decks, 2 fireplaces, wet bar, etc. 503-826-9465. $440,000.

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320 ACRES on Grand Manan Island in Canada, 8 miles off Maine coast. One-mile ocean frontage; road, phone, electric; conservative hideaway with all services. $150,000. Terms or trade. Martin Barbour, P.O. Box 598, Owensboro, Ky. 42301.

Literary

TRADITIONALIST ANGLICANS, loyalist Episcopalians, conservative Romans: Subscribe now to *The Seabury Journal*, an international theological journal for the serious catholic Christian. Published ten times a year by the Foundation for Anglican Tradition, Inc. Ten issues for $10, or subscribe for two years for $19 and a free 252-page book, *New Liturgy, Old Heresy*. Sample reprint of our article on abortion, "The Sacrament of Death," on request. Write FATI, P.O. Box 1106 S.M.S., Fairfield, Conn. 06430.

DOCUMENTARY OF THE HUNGARIAN Holy Crown. *The Last Battle for Saint Stephen's Crown*, by Attila Simontsits. Cloth, 1,141 pp.; 500 illustrations. $33. Write NR Box 3794.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER from the *Chesterton Review*. Free copy of either the Eric Gill, Christopher Dawson, or Father Brown special issue for new subscribers. Subscriptions $12 per year. Write: 147 College Drive, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N OW6, Canada.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRD, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

CONSERVATIVE OUT-OF-PRINT books. Buckley, Kirk, Solzhenitsyn, Evans, Muggeridge, etc. For list send S.A.S.E.: Box 549, Iowa City, Iowa 52244.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

SINGLES, MEET SINGLES. Write Nancy, Friend Finder—U.S.A., P.O. Box 32, Glen Ellyn, Ill. 60138.

PENFRIENDS: ENGLAND, U.S.A. Lasting friendships through correspondence. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, Box 89NR, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11235.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

CONSERVATIVE FEMALE ECONOMIST, 30, interested in books, theater, music, sports, dark beer, seeks companionship. Orlando. Write NR Box 3859.

SUPER-ACHIEVERS CLUB—Overachieving? Are you a(n) M.D., J.D., Ph.D., M.A., businessperson, etc.? Call 212-267-5785.

HOUSTON NATIVE, blonde, female, 27, Sewanee Phi Bete who enjoys literature, the theater, travel, and romance, seeks Blackford Oakes, CIA connections not required. Write NR Box 3864.

SPARKLING PENNSYLVANIA LADY, 34, attractive, sense of humor, educated, non-smoker, enjoys theater, history, reading, dancing, music from rock to G&S, independent, but ready for romantic male counterpart. Write NR Box 3858.

MATURE MAN, INTELLECTUAL, musical, literary, seeks woman, 45-58, similar tastes. Southern California, Redlands, Inland Empire. Write NR Box 3845.

CHRISTIAN LADY, WIDOW (early 50s), who loves the symphony, conservative politics, entertaining interesting people, walking on the sand in Naples, Florida, seeking educated gentleman of some stature with common interests who is kind, caring, and possesses a tremendous sense of humor. It isn't any fun to walk alone. Please send photo. Box 511, Libertyville, Ill. 60048.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081. 215-566-2132.

SOPHISTICATED SCANDINAVIANS seek enlightened correspondence and lasting relationships. Details: Scanna-NR, Box 4, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534.

INTELLIGENT, ATTRACTIVE MALE, 27, engineer, interested in bicycling, music, cooking, dancing, seeks single woman. Write NR Box 3844.

ATTRACTIVE WOMAN, middle 50s, has charm, depth, awareness. Enjoys golf, tennis, reading, sharing simple things. Positive outlook on life. Seeking sincere, intelligent man with mutual interests, who enjoys life, good conversation, and has a good sense of humor. Write NR Box 3848.

34, PACIFIC NORTHWEST male, enjoys movies, books, sports, conversation, and friendship, seeks like-minded women, 21-35, for correspondence and sharing. Write NR Box 3834.

SAN FRANCISCO MALE, 36, seeks slim, non-smoking, local lady interested in dancing, cooking, ballet, and conservative politics. Write NR Box 3863.

50-PLUS TEXAS GENTLEMAN seeks sophisticated Central Texas single lady, under 50, who plays golf and enjoys other friendly country-club activities. Write NR Box 3867.

38-YEAR-OLD single Catholic man who enjoys ballroom dancing and classic literature wishes to meet single Catholic woman with similar interests in Oklahoma City area. Write NR Box 3862.

SINGLE MAN, CHRISTIAN, 29, enjoys travel, sports, reading, wishes to correspond with ladies 20-35. Box 17252, Memphis, Tenn. 38187-0252.

RHODESIAN VETERANS' association now organizing for Second Annual Reunion. Qualified personnel please contact R.V.A., P.O. Box 1159, 14526 Sherman Way, Van Nuys, Calif. 91405.

ATTRACTIVE PROFESSIONAL WOMAN, independent, loves tennis, golf, dancing—world traveler—seeks tall, slender professional man over 45, same likes and joie de vivre. Serious. Florida. Photo. Write NR Box 3861.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others. For hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations, use our Exchange to contact others nearby or worldwide. Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

Vacation

VIRGINIA BEACH SUMMER RENTALS on Chesapeake Bay. Darling beachfront duplexes, $400 each, weekly. Alvin Whitley, 1045 Patrick Henry Way, Virginia Beach, Va. 23455. 804-460-0352.

THREE-BEDROOM BEACH condo/townhouse, Gulf Shores, Alabama. $600/week. For brochure: Bartley, 1104 Brookmeade, Huntsville, Ala. 35805.

DISCOVER INSIDERS' BRITAIN on your own! Car and train itineraries, budget London, hidden corners, and much more. Details and price list from Anglo-File, 5923 Corbin, Tarzana, Calif. 91356.

CAPE COD—charming private host homes. Choice outer-Cape locations. For reservations: Orleans Bed & Breakfast Associates, Box 1312NR, Orleans, Mass. 02653. 617-255-3824. List upon request.

U.K. HOLIDAY NEXT SUMMER with no hotel bills. Exchange your home with a British family for a few weeks and enjoy completely free accommodations. Details: Atlantic Exchange, P.O. Box 94, Colchester, Essex, England.

SARASOTA, FLORIDA—Siesta Key penthouse, luxurious 3-bedroom, 2-bath on Gulf of Mexico. Sauna, heated pool, hydro-pool, tennis. Children welcome. Available all year. $800/week, 2-week minimum. 813-955-9469.

Miscellaneous

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

BIORHYTHM BOOKLET. Year's graphs, analysis. Send birthdate, $7.95: Trac Research, Box 3352, Kingston, N.Y. 12401.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. For personal report send sample, age, and $20 to Alice Charlesworth, Box 41, Forest Park, Dayton, Ohio 45405.

SAFE, PURE WATER—Be "water wise." Number-one health nutrient. Free educational information. Clean Water Products, Dept. NARE, Sheridan, Mich. 48884.

"MAN'S MOST HATED TRUTH!" Free. Ray, B-5435, Midland, Tex. 79704.

WIT KIT. $4. A little book you can browse through again and again, each time discovering a personal laugh you had missed before. Published and sold by the author: Cullen Hightower, P.O. Box 747, Shalimar, Fla. 32579.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. People who taste tea — 30 75 197 202 95 182 60

B. *Italian nickname for* Henry + American nickname for Chester = a glancing rebound — 39 48 89 170 179 176 150 57

C. One of the captive nations — 88 97 81 137 66 32 70

D. To cheat by trickery — 93 8 22 87 146 43 59 69 107 120

E. Japanese city near Hiroshima — 110 55 128 115

F. Lavishing attention on — 112 16 29 190 184 164 104

G. A set of eight — 129 33 84 151 68 117 191

H. A resident of one of the Baltic states — 167 31 61 49 118 1 152

I. A resident of one of the Baltic states — 10 27 35 42 65 72 83 101

J. Tendered — 181 92 153 85 15 74 159

K. Adjusted — 13 50 76 156 172

L. A camera; sounds like an Eskimo's affliction — 77 130 63 106 18 14 169 145

M. A *remnant* — 91 86 131 9 45 171 175

N. A resident of one of the Baltic states — 116 6 109 90 142 174 185 28 52 123

O. One of Cleopatra's attendants — 20 25 38 204

P. Persons who domesticate wild animals — 148 19 124 113 78 132

Q. Goods from foreign countries — 154 121 3 79 98 53 2

R. One of the captive nations — 140 51 26 41 58 36 67 168 188 162 157 17 82 99

S. Smashed a hole in a boat — 160 195 122 155 102 183

T. Enveloping layers — 199 5 187 34 71 96 40 111 119 136 143

U. Funds set aside for rainy days (2 words) — 56 144 103 198 147 138 186 114

V. To furnish with needed funds — 37 166 11 125 21 180 139

W. One of the captive nations — 62 44 192 23 158 54 141

X. Part of China — 73 178 24 46 133 4 105 64 201

Y. Indecent — 100 165 200 134 126 161 7 47

Z. Tennis players — 108 196 12 189 173 135 194

* What the poor man's little lamb of II Samuel 12:3 would have grown up to be (2 words) — 127 149 193 177 94 203 163 80

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

	1 H	2 Q		3 Q	4 X	5 T	6 N	7 Y	8 D	9 M	10 I	11 V	12 Z		13 K	14 L
15 J		16 F	17 R	18 L	19 P	20 O	21 V	22 D	23 W	24 X		25 O	26 R	27 I	28 N	29 F
30 A	31 H	32 C	33 G	34 T		35 I	36 R		37 V	38 O	39 B	40 T		41 R	42 I	43 D
44 W	45 M	46 X	47 Y	48 B	49 H	50 K	51 R	52 N	53 Q	54 W	55 E	56 U		57 B	58 R	59 D
	60 A	61 H	62 W	63 L	64 X	65 I	66 C	67 R	68 G		69 D	70C	71 T	72 I	73 X	74 J
	75 A	76 K	77 L	78 P	79 Q	80 *	81 C	82 R	83 I	84 G	85 J	86 M		87 D	88 C	89 B
90 N		91 M	92 J		93 D	94 *	95 A		96 T	97 C	98 Q	99 R	100Y	101I	102S	103U
	104F	105X	106L	107D	108Z		109N	110E	111T		112F	113P	114U	115E	116N	117G
118H	119T	120D		121Q	122S	123N	124P	125V	126Y	127*		128E	129G	130L	131M	132P
133X	134Y	135Z	136T	137C	138U	139V		140R	141W	142N	143T	144U	145L		146D	147U
148P	149*	150B	151G	152H		153J	154Q	155S	156K		157R	158W	159J		160S	161Y
162R	163*	164F		165Y	166V	167H	168R	169L	170B	171M		172K	173Z	174N	175M	176B
177*		178X	179B	180V	181J	182A	183S	184F	185N	186U		187T	188R		189Z	190F
191G		192W	193*	194Z	195S		196Z	197A	198U	199T	200Y	201X	202A	203*	204Q	

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Some day within our lifetime, in the South American jungle, one jaguar may die that is the last of its kind on earth. And a whole species will have vanished, as surely and as irretrievably as the dinosaurs.

It's an appalling idea. But extinction is forever, and acting too late is the same as not acting at all.

Fortunately there is an organization that is acting now. It's called RARE.

They're working now toward the survival of species endangered by the expanding population of Latin America. But their cause and their efforts embrace the whole world.

We at the Gulf Oil Corporation applaud and support the intent and activities of RARE. We want to make sure you know something about them, and about the tremendous job they are doing.

For more information about RARE and their work, write to: RARE, Inc., 1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Gulf

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Kent III: 2 mg. "tar," 0.3 mg. nicotine;
Kent: 12 mg. "tar," 0.9 mg. nicotine; av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar. 1983.
Kent Golden Lights: 8 mg. "tar," 0.7 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

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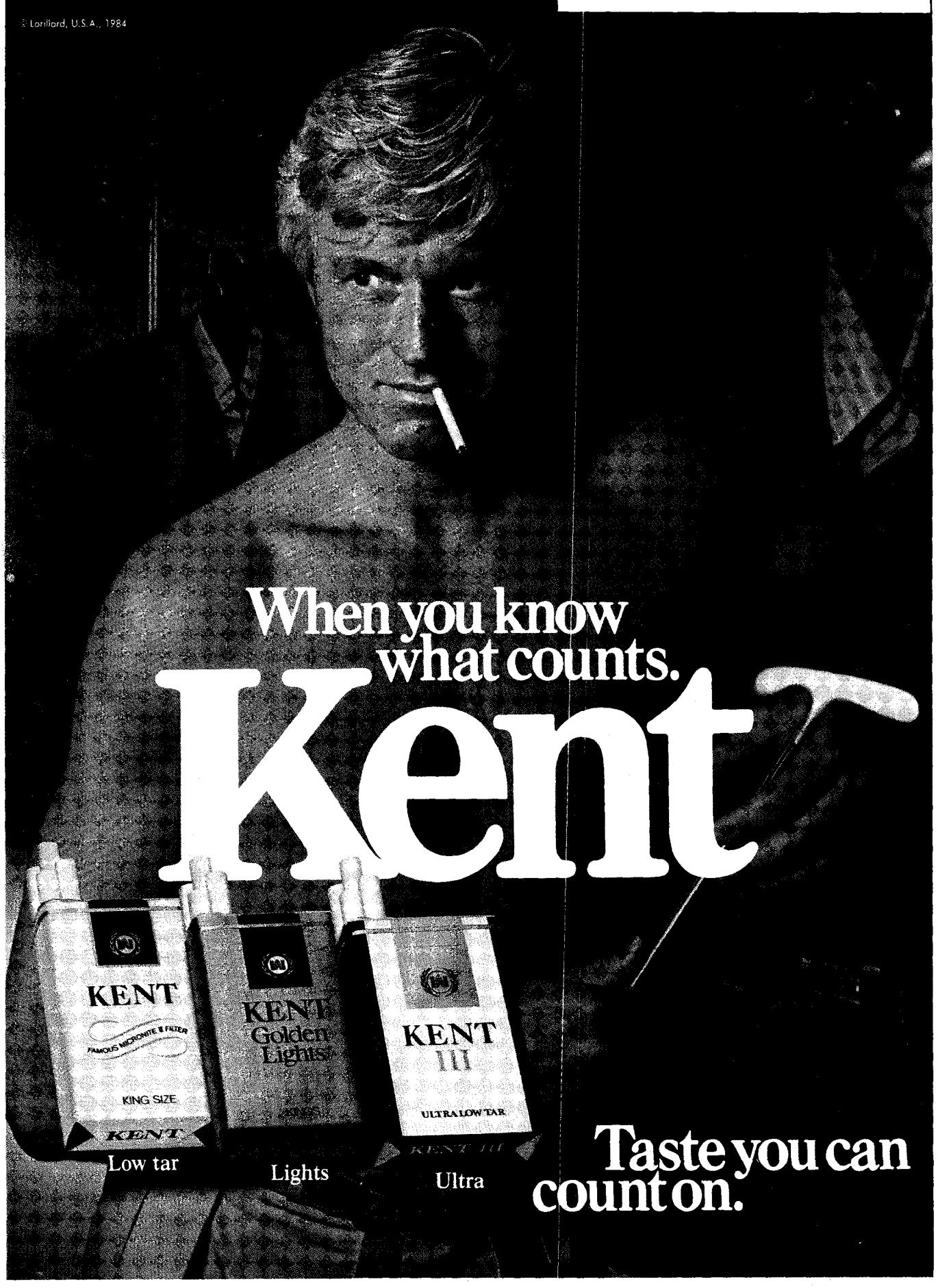
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.



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